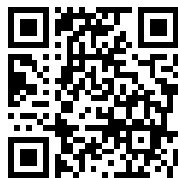

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John 2nd
Geo. Aycliffe Poole
6.

ON THE

PRESENT STATE OF PARTIES

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ALLEGED TENDENCY
OF THE

OXFORD SCHOOL

TO THE DOCTRINES AND COMMUNION OF

ROME.

BY REV. GEO. AYLIFFE POOLE, M.A.
INCUMBENT OF ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, LEEDS.

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THE PRESENT STATE,

&c.

THERE are few persons, probably, who love the church, and who look attentively at the passing indications of her peace or agitation, of her weal or woe, who are not made anxious, and as far as is consistent with a perfect trust in God's Providence, alarmed by the present posture of affairs. The fears of many are foreboding defection to Popery, from a very influential school in our own church; and there are not wanting signs that the very masters of that school are startled into a conviction that they have really been instrumental in placing the faith of some of their disciples in jeopardy. The fears of many can never be despicable, however unreasonable they may be, for they have a natural and powerful tendency to produce the crisis which they anticipate; and, in the present case, though they be founded partly on misapprehension, yet not being wholly without cause, they may justify a careful view of the circumstances out of which they have arisen—and, perhaps, call for some attempt to mitigate the alarm, where it is unjust, or disproportionate, and to suggest the proper remedy, where there is indeed some reasonable fear.

In the absence of any who would speak with greater authority, I venture, therefore, to offer a few remarks upon the present state of parties in the church, with the alleged tendency of the Oxford

School to the errors and communion of Rome; and if there is any confidence due to one who has not been driven into his present feelings and judgment by a sudden panic, or by the more noisy expression of popular opinion, but has held them for some time, and seen them confirmed by many passing events, this confidence I may fairly claim.* Besides this, I know not that I can take to myself any other credit than that of one who heartily loves his own church, and would humbly devote to her peace and prosperity whatever little influence he may possess.

But let me first confess a difficulty, and seek indulgence if I be not able to overcome it: let me, at least, obtain the credit of one who desires to avoid offence; and if the offence must come, let it be without the sting of intention on my own part. Feeling with the sainted Bishop Wilson, that "faction and party names are hateful to God and man," I have yet to speak of certain strongly characterized schools within the church, and to apply to them distinctive names: and I must shortly explain *what I mean to infer*, or rather *what I do not mean to insinuate* by those designations.

In speaking of one as *the Evangelical school*, I shall only apply to it a title which I believe its adherents do not reject: it has, however, sometimes been applied sneeringly; in such a sense I will use no word of such sacred import, neither can I use it as conceding that those who assume it are *par excellence* the Evangelical.

But the term *Low Church*, as applied to the same school, seems to me fairly and not invidiously to designate them by their avowed tenets; and I use it on that account, and not as implying either praise or blame. They will not be very indignant at an appellation which assumes that they grant rather less to the authority of the

* This claim upon the confidence of the reader seems so important that I shall venture, at the hazard of being thought obtrusive, to refer to several works of my own, extending over a good part of the time that the Ultra-church movement has been developing its principles, in which I have expressed disapproval, or a warning of their unhappy tendency, though the subject has only occurred incidentally.

church than any from whom I shall have to distinguish them : but I can only believe of some of them, that they hold with " certain passages that came from Dr. Prideaux in the discussing the questions at Oxford :—

‘ Ecclesia est mera chimæra.

‘ Ecclesia nihil docet nec determinat.

‘ Controversiæ omnes melius ad academiam referri possunt, quam ad Ecclesiam.

‘ Docti homines in academiis possunt determinare omnes controversias, etiam sepositis Episcopis.’ ”*

Nor do I use the term *Anglo-Catholic* as assuming any praise for those whom I thus designate ; but merely to express what seems to be the principle which they now feel themselves called on by circumstances most powerfully to apply :—That the church indeed hath power to decree ceremonies, and to determine in matters of controversy,—but that to the English churchman the church of England is for such matters The Church ; and that he must go to the records of the church universal not to condemn his own holy mother, but to support and to confirm her authority ; and to prove, not to question, her teaching. But I must most emphatically declare, that I mean to question the right of none to be called Anglicans, or Catholics, in the fullest and most beneficial import of these terms, who are really in communion with the Catholic Church of England.

The same persons whom I have called Anglo-Catholics I have also called *moderate churchmen*, believing that their abstract churchism must be moderated by the deep perception of their duty to a particular church.

That the sense of subjection to their own church has been, of late, so modified in certain persons that they do not hesitate to judge the church of England, as if they might take, as individuals, a point of observation above her on the Church Catholic, will justify, I think the term *Ultra-Churchmen*, as applied to them ; but I have generally called them the "*Oxford School*," not as

* Autobiography of Archbishop Laud, p. 136.

strictly correct, but as sufficiently well understood, and most certainly free from any invidious application.

A just view of the history of parties in the church, so far as their character and conduct have tended to produce the present crisis, will best introduce the subject before us ; and to present this I must go back to the days of all others which an Anglican-Churchman least likes to have forced upon his recollection,—the days of carelessness and indifference which filled up the greater part of the last century.

And let me here observe, once for all, that in describing the general aspect of religion in the church, either then, or at any other time, I am far from insinuating that there were not many varieties of character among her members, and a large body of men who were free from the general tendency of any great revolutions in opinion or in practice. Many who were the salt of the church in her least spiritual days, and for whose sake, it may be, God refrained *then* from destroying her, and vouchsafed to her *afterwards* a deliverance. It is the most obtrusive party, the religious *movement*, and not the real body of the church, of which I speak.

We must first, then, go back to that long period of coldness and indifference on which the movement of the Evangelical party, imperfect and irregular as it was, broke with a promise of life and health. Different as the spirit of that day was from the bustle and excitement of our own, it has really influenced our present state and character not a little : for it gave the force of extraordinary necessity to the new movement, and commended it to the affections of many good men by the contrast of zeal with coldness : and, if we may be permitted to say so, it is doubtless visited upon us still as one of the sins of the nation ; and it may be, perhaps, in judgment for our former coldness, that even the instrument of God's mercy to us has been, in some degree, a scourge also. A state of continued life and health had required no such potent medicine, and needed no such painful and irregular operations.

Doubtless, as in the days of Elijah, there were then many who

had not bowed down before the image of Baal; but speaking in general terms of what was plainly visible, a very cold establishmentarianism was all the principle of churchmanship, a very insufficient decency was all the colour of morality, and a cold, half-rational, half-religious theology, was too much the tone of the divinity of those days.

Then came the startling call of the Evangelical school to greater piety and zeal. Viewing it in its better aspect, it was like a voice of thunder calling to a valley of dry bones,—*Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light!** But this school soon assumed the aspect of a party within the church; and, *as a party*, it was sorely defective: and when it came to give a colour to the religious face of society, the defect was perpetuated and increased. The Evangelical movement being deficient in some main particulars of duty and of order, and being erroneous in many doctrinal points, the more religious part of society, in England, assumed, at this time, a character as defective *in the order*—as it was before *in the spirit*—of a church. Precisely the same thing took place in the church generally, which so frequently happens in an individual under analogous circumstances. A man suddenly converted by a startling call to repentance and faith, and entering, with energies untired but untried, on the devotions and duties of a Christian life, does not at once become an example of all Christian perfection. His religion is ardent, but it is deficient in the balance of regulated feeling. Taking up his theology at hazard, and with little better proof than its appeal to his internal perceptions of what he wants, and with no authority but the word of him who first spoke effectually to his conscience; his opinions are certainly *ungrounded in him*, even if *true in themselves*; and are most probably fantastic and disjointed. Lighted as by a meteor blaze to a new aspect of spiritual things, and being to himself a great phenomenon, his religion is almost necessarily subjective; and his vision is introverted, because the most striking

* Ephesians, v, 14.

object is within. To him religion is feeling, and feeling is religion ; as separated far too much from rules of action to be obeyed, and from positive doctrines to be received and held fast. Next to the authority of his first successful teacher, or perhaps before it, his own sense of what is true, that is, his own feeling, is his test of doctrine ; and hence the strength of individual opinion, and the pertinacious stickling for the right of private judgment. Throughout, his religion is irregular, unauthorized, framed on self, and inconsistent not only with the truth, but in its several parts. By habit he is a churchman ; in heart and opinions a dissenter. Towards all shades and differences of religious opinion, and to all diversities of sects and parties he is a liberal ; if only they hold, however combined with other things, the two or three doctrines which have wrought most in his own mind : while against all others he is bitter and implacable, as against so many Anti-Christis ; because they have not received Christ just as he has. But with all this evil, he is, however, in earnest, and anxious to please God, and on the whole, quite as good a man as one may be expected to be, who still bears with him the moral imperfection wrought in him by his former sinful or careless life. As healthy as a man may be, who has been cured of a disease which has already distorted his frame, or preyed upon his vitals.

But his conversion is a great grace of God, and an unspeakable blessing. And so surely, in the religious change which I have described, we recognize, without hesitation, the hand of God : in the agents in it we reverence his instruments ; and in its effects we adore his grace. Perhaps the leaders in that movement were even better adapted to the end *then* to be effected, than if they had been more largely instructed in the truth, and more steadily grounded in ecclesiastical, that is, in divine polity. Still they assuredly left something to be supplied ; and this the Lord of the church seems to have supplied, in a great measure, though as yet but imperfectly, by the positive dogmatic reverential character of a school of divines, which may be said to have originated with the

late excellent Bishop Jebb. This prelate seems first, in these latter days, to have called the attention of the world more openly to what was always held by the sound Anglican-Churchman, though not so prominently advanced,—the distinctive character of the church of England, as equally opposed to Popery and to mere Protestantism. The view which the Bishop of Limerick so admirably evolved in the Appendix to his Volume of Sermons, appealed forcibly to the hearts of many, and stimulated them to give expression to what they felt and knew on this subject, and to carry out their sound principles of theology in the important duties of parish priests, while they forcibly asserted them in works which will give them a lasting place among the standard divines of our church. Those of whom I now speak have repudiated nothing that is good in the Evangelical movement; neither sneering at spirituality, nor repressing zeal, nor denying the free and sovereign grace of God, nor setting light by a close walk with God; while they have added to all this good the strength and proportions of a sound theology: bringing out, indeed, no new thing, but reviving and reproducing the sterling materials which were in the storehouse of the sacred Scriptures, and of the church from the beginning:—pointing, at all times, to something without us, to laws of duty, to a visible church, to positive doctrines, to a holy ritual, and to a sufficient authority, as objects of a Christian's faith, study, feelings, and obedience. And the effect thus produced in the churchmen of the present day is most remarkable. There are, indeed, some exceptions, and glaring ones; but almost every where, as a general rule, holy orders have a meaning, as well as eloquence and piety. The episcopate and office of the bishop are now regarded, as well as the piety and zeal of the individual prelate; the sacerdotal character and ministry, as well as the sermon of the preacher: we are taught to pray with, as well as to *sit under*, the priest; and the doctrine of the communion of saints is recognized in the congregation of faithful men: the holy sacraments are valued, as well as the feelings which they excite; the discipline is cultivated, as well as the humility and holiness at which it aims: in short, in these,

and a thousand other instances, the teaching of the church of England, by her living ministers, is, to say the least, brought nearer to that of her ritual and articles.

From some cause or other, probably from the predilection of the Evangelical school for the works of the Puritans, with whose earnestness they sympathized, and whose dreadful wickedness they imputed, perhaps, to the times, rather than to the men and their principles; but, however, from some cause, it so happens, that many of the doctrines and practices which Low Churchmen had forgotten, and which the Anglo-Catholics of the present day are recalling to their recollection, had become connected in the popular mind with Popery. Such are, for instance, the Catholic and Anglican doctrines of the authority of the church, “to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the church, ordained only by man’s authority,”* and of its “power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith;”† of the right use of tradition, and the respect due to Catholic councils and primitive fathers; of the holy sacraments; of absolution; of ordination, and of the episcopate especially,—its divine right and apostolical derivation. These doctrines being confused by the ignorant or prejudiced with the Romish notions of Papal infallibility and supremacy, of indulgences, of transubstantiation, of the *opus operatum*, &c., to which they are, on the contrary, absolutely opposed,—the senseless cry of “Popery” was again raised, as it had been by the murderers of Strafford, Laud, and Charles I.; when the authority, the doctrines, the principles, the ritual of the church of England, were more prominently brought forward. This was, indeed, in both cases absurd in the extreme, and arose out of a double ignorance, an ignorance of the real character of Popery, and an ignorance of the principles of the Anglo-Catholic Church; but the results were, and may be again, worthy of serious attention, exemplifying the words of Archbishop Laud to one Wells, a New England Minister, who came to insult him in the tower, and upbraided him with going about to bring Popery into the kingdom: to whom the

* Article xxxiv.

† Article xx.

Archbishop replied,—that he was a better Protestant than he or any of his followers; and that he and his fellows, what, by their ignorance, and what, by their railing, and other boisterous carriage, would soon actually make more Papists by far, than ever he (the Archbishop) intended.*

The Archbishop's vaticination was justified by the event, for it is well known that there were never so many conversions to Popery, as when the Puritan faction was at its height. Heaven forefend that it should be fulfilled a second time! But for something, at least, the violence of our modern Puritans has to answer: for partly from this, and partly also (I am free to confess) from a natural liability of all things, however just and good in themselves, to be driven to extremes by weak and fallible men, a modification of High Churchmen arose, which we are obliged to recognize as another party, differing not only in some individual opinions, (~~which those who stood ready to accept their teaching, to step beyond~~ would scarce justify the placing them in a different class,) but also in some very important principles, from those whom I have designated as Anglo-Catholics. I need scarcely say, that I allude to those who are maliciously nicknamed Puseyites, and who are called, not quite correctly, yet without malice, and with convenient conciseness, the Oxford school. *Catholics*, perhaps, they would choose to be called, and, in communion, as they are with the church, far be it from me to deny the name to them, as sharing it with them; but, as their's *par excellence*, and as due only, or even chiefly, to them, I cannot use the term.

The better way to designate them will be to refer to some of the works in which their specific character seems to be displayed, as distinguished from that of the Anglo-Catholic school. I have said that the present active development of the last-mentioned school originated with the late Bishop of Limerick; and to his works may be added those of Dr. Hook, Professor Sewell, and Mr. Palmer, exemplifying the doctrines and principles by which that school is distinguished. To these may be added the earlier tracts for the times: but some of the later tracts, especially those on

* Autobiography of Archbishop Laud, p. 323.

reserve, and those on the English liturgy, and No. 90, may better be classed together with some of the late articles in the *British Critic* (those on Bishop Jewel, and on the Port Royal, for instance,) as characterizing the Oxford school.

The strength of this school is not numerically great ; it is apparently swelled by many, who will as hastily escape from it, when they see whither it tends, as they did from the vagueness and irreverence of Ultra-Protestantism : but still, *it is a party* ;—(a grave assertion, which I feel bound to make, and of which I shall, hereafter, offer abundant proofs,—it is a party ;)—and actuated by a spirit, and characterized by a principle of its own. I reserve particular charges to a future page ; but I must just say, in passing, that without having, at present, except perhaps in one or two instances, exceeded the fair bounds of private opinion, they have exceeded the limits within which the *public* expression of opinion should be retained : and that in the principles on which theological determinations are based, while they have not plainly contradicted any one which an Anglican-Churchman is bound to maintain, they have yet acted upon *one*, at least, which he is bound to oppose ;—that is, they have so acted, as if the position of a Churchman, as a Catholic, gave him a right to judge of his particular church, by some so called Catholic rule, which he may think fit to collect for himself out of the records of the church, and to approve her, or condemn, according as this indirect exercise of private judgment may incline him.

But before I proceed to the examination of the principles of the Oxford school, I must justify my assertion that it has arisen, in some degree, out of the violence of the Ultra-Protestant faction. Let us take it for granted, at present, that the ranks of that party have been filled from those of the Anglo-Catholics,—(which, perhaps, is not wholly false, since those of the Evangelical school, who have arrived at the other extreme, have generally passed through the mean) ;—we grant, then, that the ranks of the Oxford school have been filled from those of the moderate church party ;

but, we add, that it has been, in part, at least, owing to the extreme violence of the opposition of Evangelical Low-Churchmen.

Let us consider the probable effect of such an attack upon persons in their situation,—an attack weak beyond expression in reason and argument, though loud and irritating enough, in the voice of popular clamour. They are called Catholics, Sacramentarians, Puseyites, Tractarians, Semi-Papists, Papists, Jesuists in disguise, with other names equally opprobrious in intention, though by no means denoting equally dangerous errors, and some of which they would gladly accept in a fair sense. No wonder if they become, by degrees, less afraid of the extremes which these names designate, when they have begun to find the consolation of undeserved reproach in the names themselves. Their reputation and character are associated with a party, against whom many things are said falsely; they are condemned together, and execrated together: no wonder if they almost make common cause with a foe, when they are treated as if they had already done so. And their contest, be it remembered, is for something positive, something tangible, and capable of proof. Their position is attacked; they cannot be driven from it by a host of negations, for against these it is impregnable:—farther on, however, they may be tempted to advance; and the strength and the weakness of human reason will be alike dangerous to them. Strong to repel the sophistical reasonings of Ultra-Protestants they certainly are; but they may be weak to resist the natural consequences on themselves of the counter-action; and they who began Anglo-Catholics will probably be driven from their Anglicanism, and so, indirectly, from their Catholicism, though by a very different process from that which the Ultra-Protestant expected.

Meanwhile, the position of such persons, and, indeed, of churchmen in general, is made more difficult by the one-sided view which the religious world takes of the present movement; a view which seems, in some degree, at least, even to influence the exercise of authority. On the one side the greatest laxity of opinion is permitted, and even the limits of the church ritual are overstepped,

without danger of censure: on the other, not only occasional expressions of opinion, where the church of England has not spoken, are condemned,—but a rigid attention to the ritual, and a firm adherence to the very words of her formularies, are looked on with suspicion. The Low Churchman omits portions of the church service, or preaches in direct contradiction to an article, or uses some convenient expedient to shorten the eucharistic feast, or even (and I do not exaggerate) takes occasion from a word in the baptismal service to deliver, during the baptism of a child, a polemical discourse against the doctrine of the church, and nothing is said; on the contrary, the voice of public opinion is loud in his praise; he is a zealous, pious, Christian minister: but if a Moderate Churchman venture to approach more and more nearly, by cautious degrees, to the real model contemplated in the ritual of the church, and to the uncompromising statements of positive theology in the church catechism and church service, he is condemned by those around him, and suspected by those above him. The Anglo-Catholic alone may have no conscience;—none in behalf of what is appointed,—none in behalf of what he has sworn to observe: the other pleads conscience for private opinion merely, and his plea is allowed,—against the observance of a most solemn engagement,—and he is applauded. The Anglican Churchman may not be in love with order, without being superstitious: the Low Churchman may superstitiously hate order, and be accounted wise and charitable. Conscience, earnestness, submission to authority, are denied to the one,—while to the other are permitted conscience, superstition, and private opinion, wheresoever they show themselves, and whithersoever they tend.

It may seem that I am dealing merely in generals, though I am persuaded that any one who really knows the present state of things will have examples enough crowding into his mind at each assertion. But to exemplify my meaning in a particular case:—the liberty of interpretation of the formularies of our own church. The Moderate Churchman believes that ministerial absolution has no unmeaning or unimportant connexion with the article of *the*

forgiveness of sins ; and he refers to no fewer than three separate forms of absolution in our church services in support of his doctrine, and in proof that it is as well Anglican as Catholic and Christian. Low Churchmen deny the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration ; and some of them endeavour to make the formularies of the church speak in their language. Now if it were possible to find an unprejudiced person to whom to refer the question, I would defy him to help seeing that Baptismal regeneration and the doctrine of ministerial absolution are again and again asserted in the services of the church. Yet, who is denied the liberty of questioning the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration ?—Who is permitted the opinion, that ministerial absolution can have any connexion with the forgiveness of sins ? If I insinuate that the man who denies the grace of Baptism is not an Orthodox Churchman, I am at once a bigot ; and if I declare my belief that a conscientious minister of the church of England may absolve a dying man, to his present comfort, and to his eternal benefit, I am a Papist. Such even-handed justice is awarded.

Now what is the natural consequence of all this ? Is it to be supposed that men can be irritated on either hand, without being hurried, sometimes, beyond due bounds ; and that they will always endure, without impatience, an exercise of judgment which they know to be unjust ? Will a set of men, with their faculties about them, and with the weakness of human nature, as well as its strength to stimulate them, sit down exactly where the unjust judgment and the one-sided policy found them ; and not probably be urged a little farther than the truth ? While all around are vacillating and unstable, can they alone be expected to stand firm and unmoved ? And are they to be freely condemned by those who have driven them into their present position, while they, themselves, hold no position in steadfastness ?

I hope it is clear, that nothing here said can really tend to justify a departure from sound Anglican principles, upon one's own notions of the greater Catholicity of any party whatever. And having now given some reasons why the Low Churchman should

not be too hasty to utter the cry of "*Papery*," I proceed to enquire how far his alarm may be justified, though his judgment be most erroneous; to ask how far the writers of the most influential works on the side of the Ultra-Church movement are justified in the tone which they have assumed, and how far their adherents are justified in the feeling which they have fostered. To determine whether or no they have in any degree stimulated the minds of those who stood ready to accept their teaching, to step beyond the bounds of due submission to the church, and to seek, by an individual act, freedom or redress;—and whether their course of proceeding has not weakened the barrier which stands between the conscience of the English Churchman, and the rejection of the authority and communion of his church.

The visible influence which they have had upon the public mind, and many concurrent circumstances, determine the search, in this instance, into the "*Tracts for the Times*," and the publications of those avowedly connected with them.

Now there can be no question that the direct tendency of these publications has been good. They have taught sound, positive, dogmatic, Catholic Theology; instead of the meagre, vague, unauthorized fancies of Ultra-Protestants: and the character which they have laboured, not unsuccessfully, to commend, is a deep, consistent, self-denying, exalting piety; instead of the bustling, self-sufficient pretensions, which have too long usurped the praise of a lowly, Christian deportment.

But combined with the solid gold, is an alloy, in comparative quantity minute; but, in its results, not contemptible:—a habit of thought and feeling which has been embodied in many expressions not sufficiently filial towards the Church of England, and sometimes almost hostile to her. This, if it really existed, was most of all to be deprecated in the instruments of widely extended changes of opinion: for while men's minds were being unsettled in many important points, the attraction of the church of England, as a divinely constituted point of repose, and centre of unity, was lessened, in direct proportion as it ought to be increased. It may

be difficult to believe that the spirit of those should be wanting in a filial reverence, whose actual submission and obedience to the church was irreproachable and even exemplary : yet it is scarce possible otherwise to account for many expressions, such as I shall have presently to adduce : and, at any rate, the effects of such words on others have been manifest, and require to be counter-acted. There were many who were far more ready to catch the spirit of disaffection, than to follow those from whom they caught it in implicit obedience ; and, in these, it would, of course, produce a practical neglect of the authority of their own church, and a conduct which seemed to presume a liberty to go beyond the church in its doctrines, laws, and observances. And this was the more to be deprecated, because it was done under the name of an appeal to a yet higher principle than the authority of a particular church :—the Catholic consent of all churches, and the practice of the best ages of Christianity. The warm and ardent followers of a school which seemed, at least, to use Mr. Sewell's words, to “ lead others to consider themselves as disciples of the Catholic Church ; rather than as the dutiful and affectionate children of that branch of it, to which we immediately belong :”—to “ encourage a fanciful and even self-willed spirit, to throw them back upon a distant period of the church, not for great truths, which we are taught by our own church, and are commanded by her to confirm, by such testimony ; but for habits of thought and practice, difficult to be realized, impossible to be understood in all their bearings, unfitted, it may be, for our own state, and powerless, for effecting the good which is hoped from them :” *—the warm and ardent followers of such a school, (and I believe that the school of which I am writing is not unjustly so characterized, when a view is given of its failings,) were clearly in danger of carrying principles too far, which are questionable in their application, even by the best and wisest, and must be dangerous when hastily applied by the rash and inconsiderate.

I do not know that the spirit of apparent disaffection has been

* Letter to Dr. Pusey, pp. 8, 9.

displayed more evidently (except in the most lamented exhibition of it in Froude's Remains) than in the tract, No. 90. It is not the argument itself of that tract which is in the least degree irreverent or unfilial: it is the way in which the Church of England, her formularies and condition are spoken of in the introductory and concluding pages. The passages in which this appears are wholly extraneous to the argument of the tract; and they might have been omitted altogether, or differently expressed, without in the least weakening the force of the whole. I transcribe the following passage as an example:—

“Till her members are stirred up to this religious course, let the Church [of England*] sit still; let her be content to be in bondage; let her work in chains; let her submit to her imperfections as a punishment; let her go on teaching with the stammering lips of ambiguous formalities, and inconsistent precedents, and principles but partially developed. We are not better than our fathers; let us bear to be what Hammond was, or Andrews, or Hooker; let us not faint under the body of death, which they bore about in patience; nor shrink from the penalty of sins, which they inherited from the age before them.”†

Now does not this passage present the Church of England in an aspect in which her heartily affectionate and implicitly obedient sons do not like to view her?—first, because they feel that before they can take this view of her, they must desert their own proper position: for it is a view *ab extra*, and not only so but from above; whereas they are a part of her very body, compacted with her frame, and animated with her life: or if they are forced for a moment, and by a painful effort of abstraction, to dissociate in themselves the christian from the churchman, they feel that their proper position is not *above* but *very far below*; that they have to look up to the Church of which they are members, and not to behold her from an eminence.

But secondly, the most cordially attached sons of the Anglican

* The context leaves no possible question as to whether the Church of England is intended.

† Tract 90, page 4.

do not like to take the view of their Church implied in the passage above cited, because they do not believe it to be a just aspect of her character and condition. For instance: granting that the articles leave many open questions, they will rather say that at the Reformation the Church of England taught, so far as in her articles she did teach, (not as defective in principle or skill, but as best suited her office,) with the gentleness of a loving mother winning children to her arms: and that where she was less absolute and precise, it was not as speaking with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies,* but using the mild and healing caution of a sound discretion and discipline. And as to whether it were better to have spoken more sternly, and to have defined more narrowly, and to have left fewer points undecided, (whether against the Papist or against the Protestant recusant,) they feel that the Church, their holy mother, was then, as she still is, and ever must be as long as she has any being, the authority *to judge* as well as *to act*, in all such cases: nor will they doubt her *wisdom*, any more than her *power* or *authority*; especially since they will not forego the conviction, that the Holy Spirit of God was with the Church of this land in that trying crisis, and they will tremble therefore lest they condemn her when she speaks, permissively at the least, as an oracle of God. Again, if they fancy that they see inconsistent precedents, they will certainly wish to think (and I know not what may be the difficulty, for I know not where are the inconsistencies,) that the greater wisdom which left apparent inconsistencies unreconciled was sufficiently justified in so doing. That principles should be but partially developed is, I suppose, inherent in every thing that is finite

* I have been reminded since these pages were written, that Mr. Newman has recalled this expression. Had I been imputing to an individual specific error in opinion, I should have felt it right to cancel this page: but I am merely furnishing an example of a general tone of expression in a school composed of many individuals; and on referring to Professor Keble's letter to Mr. Justice Coleridge, it will be seen that what one person wrote too hastily, according to his own maturer judgment, another is found, even after particular attention had been called to it, heartily to commend.

in duration and in moral circumstances;—for every successive day, and every new occurrence, affords occasion for some new development of principles so extensive in their application as those which run through the whole of true religion: the partial development, then, which is necessary to all limited things, the affectionate sons of a particular church will not consider a reproach; and it may be that after patient study of her constitution, her liturgy, her articles, and the like, they will not think the development of principles in the Church of England at all meagre, though it be necessarily partial.* Thus will they “bear to be what Hammond was, or Andrews, or Hooker” in condition; and not bear only, but rejoice, to have the same mother, with (if so be) the same imperfections;—to love and reverence her as much as they, and with them to adhere to her with full and filial honor, confidence, and love.

“We are not,” indeed, “better than our fathers:” I confess it with sorrow and shame, but in one sense I rejoice in the assertion: I rejoice in the assurance that our fathers were better than we, and in the hope that we may be beloved for the fathers’ sake: but why should we not impute their holiness (under God) to their diligent use of the privileges of the Church; and labour to follow them in this, rather than affect a sympathy with them in the difficulties presented by the imperfections of the church, which we know not that they felt? A body of death there was which they bare about with them, which they fainted not under, but strove against;—but it was not the Spouse of Christ, but their own sinful nature which weighed them down: nor did they reject, nor do we, I trust, the penalty of sins which we inherit, (both the sins and the penalty,) from preceding generations. But why suppose that the Church is the channel in which the sins and the penalty flow, instead of going to her ordinances and to her blessing to be

* Truly this reproach of “principles but partially developed” is most ungraciously cast upon the Anglican Church, by those who so successfully appeal on every occasion to her expressions of high and Catholic principles in her constitutions, and in her various formularies, but especially in her liturgy.

cleansed from the sullage of sin, and to cut off the penalty that is entailed upon us?

It is almost superfluous to observe, that where the condition or character of the Church is the result of mere external force, the Churchman is far more at liberty to judge, and far less restrained in the expression of his opinion by the reverence due to his spiritual mother. For instance: he may well feel indignant if the state has exercised a tyrannical and treacherous influence over the church, and forged fetters for her, by which her energies are cramped, under the pretence of protection and support: if, therefore, it is to this that the author alludes, when he says in the above cited passage,—“Let her [the Church of England] be content to be in bondage; let her rest in chains; let her submit to her imperfections, as a punishment;” I suppose that no true Churchman will object to his expressions. In speaking thus of her *imperfections*, he must be presumed to allude to her politico-ecclesiastical state; for under no imperfections, moral, or theological, or dependent on herself alone, would it be right, or even excusable, for her to rest, without an earnest endeavour to correct them. Under the tyranny then of political *protection*, she may and must “sit still,” until again being at unity among themselves, the strength of her sons is irresistible. Then, (and may God in his good pleasure hasten the time!) she may again obtain her own; and, having been warned by former wrong, hold it.*

And let me add, that I am far from denying that the very expressions which I have least hesitated to condemn, as unadvised

* Let me not be understood as disliking the union of Church and State: I only protest against the general view of it, which makes the Church wholly a debtor to the State, and would have her confess as a boon the most unprincipled aggressions of the civil power. As an Englishman, and one who loves his country, I should most sorely deprecate anything that should tend to the breach of an alliance, by which I believe the state of England to be consecrated, and in which, therefore, I believe its strength to reside. If St. Chrysostom could say with truth *Στόλος ἐστὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ Ἐκκλησία* [Hom. xi. in I Tim.] we may surely believe that the Church of England is the strength of our country.

at the best, are the expressions of many just and true opinions in the mind of the author ; and that in persons of a like habit of thought they may excite very wholesome reflections. Professor Keble, in his letter to Mr. Justice Coleridge, says that this was the case with him ; and does not hesitate to declare that the general tone of this Tract, more especially of the introduction, appeared to him very instructive, and exactly what our present position requires ; and in the very passage on which I have made these remarks, he saw nothing but a condensed statement of the same facts which had been taught and illustrated in detail in a former Tract for the Times, No. 86. But this tract too, exquisitely beautiful as it is, and most just in the main, had already awakened the apprehension of many a good Churchman. For it is not too much to say, that a perusal of Tract No. 86 left the impression on the mind of the careful reader that the author was instilling a habit of viewing our Church just in the way in which it is so obviously viewed in the introduction to No. 90,—i. e., *from above, and from without* ; as if we were as much at liberty to see her imperfections as those who are not her children ; and might speak of them as freely as if we owed her no love and no allegiance. Especially the terms in which she seemed to be admitted into comparison with the Church of Rome, a comparison so conducted as to leave the impression wholly in favour of the latter, did seem to afford ground of regret in those who longed still to find pleasure, almost unmixed, in the perusal of the “Tracts for the Times.”

Perhaps I have been not strictly correct in referring *all* the earlier Tracts to the moderate Church school, as I am just now reminded by a reference to No. 9, in which the author, speaking of the changes which took place in the Church services before and after the Reformation, says :—

“Services were compressed into one, which had been originally distinct ; the idea of united worship, with a view to which identity of time and language had been maintained in different nations, was forgotten ; the identity of time had been abandoned, and the identity of language, which for a time had seemed to

reverse the curse at Babel, could not be preserved. Conscious of the incongruity of primitive forms and modern feelings, our Reformers undertook to construct a service more in accordance with the spirit of their age. They adopted the English language: they curtailed the already compressed ritual of the early Christians, so arranging it that the Psalms should be gone through monthly instead of weekly; and carrying the spirit of compression still further, they added to the matin service what had hitherto been wholly distinct from it, the Mass service or Communion."

This passage does not indeed avow, but it clearly enough indicates, and it certainly tends to encourage the same disaffection in another of its developments—a dislike to the English Reformation, with a habit of looking on all its features with suspicion at the best, and of expressing a judgment upon them with unreserved licence. Taking into account the known reverence (wherein we are not behind them) with which the authors of the "Tracts" regard primitive forms, what can be more obvious than the tone of disapproval of the following words, and the covert rebuke which they convey:—"Conscious of the incongruity of primitive forms and modern feelings, our Reformers undertook to construct a service more in accordance with the spirit of their age?" Surely this is not intended to convey a favourable, and does not convey a just impression of the spirit with which our Reformers undertook the task imposed upon them in the course of Providence. How is it that we have still the services of the Church of England to witness for a tone of theology, and a feeling in religion far remote from the ultra-Protestantism of their times, if it was with a view "*to construct a service more in accordance with the spirit of their age,*" that our Reformers undertook their task? They succeeded very ill, if this was really their aim; but not so ill, if their object was to revive and perpetuate in the Church of England a primitive and catholic feeling,—wherein, (though not avowedly, of course,) they did in fact embody many features of their own primitive and catholic character.

The arrangement of the offices of the day, so as to include all within two seasons of prayer, is a thing on the expediency of which differences of opinion may be allowed; but it is clearly within the

province of a Church's authority : where it has been done, therefore, it should be so mentioned as not at any rate to derogate from the honor of the church and of her servants in that work. And surely this were not difficult. Why may not the plan thus pursued be attributed to their discretion, honestly at least if not wisely exercised, rather than to their subserviency to a puritan or irreligious faction. The state of society, not as it is altered by being irreligious, but as it is modified by circumstances morally and religiously indifferent, would make attention to the seven primitive hours, (if they be primitive,) almost impossible, or at least difficult in so great a degree as to become rather a snare than a privilege: a cause of stumbling to the weak, rather than a means of edification to the strong. If so, then are the Reformers more than justified in the part which they have herein taken.

But what shall we think of the way in which the introduction of the English language into the public worship of God is noticed ? After having hinted, and not obscurely, a feeling of attachment to the unvarying use of a language vernacular nowhere, for many ages known to very few of the laity, and unknown to very many of the clergy :—After having attributed its use to a desire to maintain “*the idea of united worship*,” (a good object, if it be historically true to refer to it this arrangement*) :—After having singularly enough, found a seeming reversal of the curse at Babel, in a system according to which one man was continually speaking to or with hundreds in a language which they understood not ; which will rather suggest the thought of a perpetuation of the curse, and a binding it upon men's souls every where and for ever :—After all this to say, that as a part of their undertaking “*to construct a service more in accordance with the spirit of the age*,” our Reformers “*adopted the English language* :”—Is this a way to speak of what we might almost, if we could venture to particularize among so many, call the crowning circumstance of mercy at the English Reformation ? And is it possible to retain

* An object however which was never really attained, for the Greek church never used the Latin tongue.

in the minds of those who are thus addressed by persons to whom they look for instruction, and the direction of their habits of thought and feelings, a proper reverence for the Reformed Church of England; whose Reformation is not so indifferent, so extraneous a part of her spiritual being, as to be separated from the notion which every one of her sons must have of her character and condition? I do not ask, for I would not suggest bounds to the liberty of private opinion and private feeling, whether a man may so *think*, and record such thoughts in his *private* journal: but I do ask whether a man may so write or so publish *for the community*,—and that community bound, to a man, to support or to hold fast the communion of the Reformed Church of England.

The Tract last quoted was written, I believe, by the late Mr. Froude:* a man in whose mind there was much to admire, and in whose character there was much to imitate; but whose “Remains” were not, as almost all Churchmen painfully felt, fitted to

* I may be allowed to quote the following passage from a little tract of my own, entitled “*John Wesley vindicated by himself, an Allegory for the Wesleyan Centenary*,” published more than two years ago. “Of Froude himself, I would speak as of the dead, and say, ‘Peace be with his ashes!’ But if the ashes of the dead are stirred by the living, to excite a destructive flame, we may not be silent. And this I heartily hope and confidently believe; that the immense majority of those who are thankful to the writers of the Tracts for the Times, for their application to existing circumstances of sound Church principles, and for their deeply learned and philosophical refutation of certain Popish errors, read the attacks upon Cranmer, and upon the Reformation in this country in general, in Mr. Froude’s remains, with indignant sorrow, and are ready to avow that they feel and will act as Reformed Anglican Churchmen.

“But the cause of deepest sorrow is not that Froude should have so written or spoken:—the impatient and intemperate sallies of a young man may be regretted and forgiven:—but that those whose age, learning, and high moral and religious attainments give force to their proceedings, should publish those expressions to the world, and that evidently with the intention of awakening in others a kindred spirit. This may afford occasion of triumph to those who are opposed to the whole character of the Tracts for the Times, and who deprecate their tendency to revive a spirit of Catholicity in the Church; but to us, who confess ourselves their admirers in general, and in some things their disciples, it is cause of regret and alarm.”

appear when they did, or indeed at any time, under the sanction of the great name of their Editor.

It is not yet forgotten how much strength the apprehension already excited by some parts of the "Tracts for the Times," acquired at the publication of these volumes. This apprehension was then no longer confined to persons of any peculiar opinion, and especially not to the ultra Protestants. Indeed "Froude's Remains," partly from the very nature of the work, (presenting an individual portrait, rather than a series of abstract propositions and unapplied principles,) gave, more than any other work had done, form and substance to the spirit which I am deprecating. In Froude was embodied all that we have yet seen of the habit of looking upon the Church of England from without :—of taking or endeavouring to take a station upon Catholic tradition, or primitive antiquity, as if it were one of advantageous observation ; and then looking down upon our church, as a particular church, as if from the eminence of all churches, or of the church universal :—of depreciating the progress and results of the English Reformation, as if they derived no holiness from the contact of the church, no reverence from their being the outward vesture, the visible manifestations of our spiritual mother :—and of detracting with all boldness from the conduct and principles of our Reformers, even of that "noble army of Martyrs," who sealed their work with their blood. The example was striking, and the freshness and independence of Froude's manner made it fascinating to those who think it tame to be common place, and noble to be unrestrained by ordinary bonds. This is a common fault with those whose minds are noble but undisciplined ; and the case of these ought to be respected in the publication of any such work as "Froude's Remains." Whether all the harm might not have been avoided, and yet all that is great, pious, and holy in the character of Froude have been presented for our edification, will scarce admit a question with those who read the "Remains," with any thing like a just appreciation of their contents.

To speak with light reverence of the Doctors, Saints, and

Martyrs of the English Reformation, is not peculiar to Froude; it is the characteristic of the partizans of that school of which he was a marked—(in some things let us hope an exaggerated)—example. Dr. Hook observed long ago, “that while manfully vindicating the principles of the English Reformation, in their fear, lest they should appear to respect persons too highly, the writers of the Tracts [for the Times] do not appreciate highly enough the characters of some of our leading Reformers, nor make a due allowance for the difficulties in which they were placed.”* Is this remark uncalled for now, any more than it was when Dr. Hook

* “Call to Union,” &c.—Note K, Appendix. This note is so important that I shall transcribe a large portion of it.

“When all parties, having admitted that Church principles ought to be carried out and uniformly acted upon, were led to inquire, ‘what *are* Church principles? is *any* party acting consistently upon them?’—at such a time, the celebrated Oxford Tracts made their appearance. The reputed writers of the Tracts were men of ardent piety, who had been attached to the ‘Evangelical’ school, and it was among the young men who had been educated in that school that they created a strong sensation. Hence, perhaps, the bitterness with which they are assailed by some of the older partizans of that section in the Church. To those who, like the present writer, had been educated strictly in the principles of the English Reformation, and belonged to the old orthodox school, they brought forward nothing new, and though we may have demurred to some of their *opinions*, and have thought that, in some things, they are in an extreme, we rejoiced to see right principles advocated in a manner so decided, and in a spirit so truly Christian. Against some of the pious opinions supported in these Tracts, objections may occasionally be raised, for perfect coincidence of opinion is not to be expected. I do not, myself, accord with *all* the opinions expressed in them, or always admit the deduction attempted to be drawn from the principles on which we are agreed. I think, too, that while manfully vindicating the principles of the English Reformation, in their fear lest they should appear to respect persons too highly, the writers of the Tracts do not appreciate highly enough the character of some of our leading Reformers, or make due allowance for the difficulties in which they were placed. I mention these things the rather, since I am sure the writers in question have no wish to form a party; they have no wish to check freedom of opinion within the boundaries prescribed by the Church;—their object is only to imbue the public mind with those Catholic principles by the maintenance of which the English Reformation was gloriously distinguished. This

thus wrote? What, for instance, is the meaning and probable effect of such a passage as the following in one of the notices of books in the *British Critic*?—"What does the author mean by Henry the Second's 'jurisdiction over the clergy,' 'independence

cannot be done, unless on those principles opinions are formed, and from them conclusions drawn; and at the very time we may combat a particular opinion, if we admit the truth of the principle on which it is built, we only confirm the principle, and impress it more deeply on men's minds. I am *not* one of those who would say, "Read the Oxford Tracts, and take for granted every opinion there expressed," but I *am* one of those who would say, "Read and digest those Tracts well, and you will have imbibed principles which will enable you to judge of opinions." Their popularity will increase, since their arguments are not answered, or their statements refuted:—they are opposed simply by railing. And those who judge of such things only by second-hand reports, and garbled quotations, and anonymous misrepresentations in newspapers, will, of course, rail on. May the day come when they will be awakened to a sense of the danger of thus violating the golden rule of charity. In the mean time, the wise, the candid, those who are not the mere *partisans* of religion, but really religious, will themselves read the Tracts,—and if they *do* read they will commend. They may censure particular *opinions*, but they will commend the *whole*. At all events, the scriptural Christian will be *prejudiced* in favour of the writers of the Oxford Tracts, on seeing the fruits of the Spirit beautifully exhibited in their conduct, *love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness*; it would be well, indeed, if their assailants, in various magazines and newspapers, would remember of what *emulation, wrath, strife, seditions*, are the signs. The temper manifested by their opponents is as impotent as it is too often profane. Fully aware that it is not by reviling again, that they are to maintain the cause of a reviled and crucified Master; fully aware that it is by well-doing that they are "to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men," the writers of the Oxford Tracts, when assailed as "popish fanatics," &c., when their doctrines, instead of being refuted, are declaimed against as "figments of the darkest ages of Papal superstition," &c., calmly reply, 'Brave words, surely. Well and good, take your fill of them since you choose them for your portion. It does but make *our* spirits rise cheerily and hopefully to be thus encountered. Never were such words on one side, but *deeds* were on the other. We know our place and our fortunes; to give a witness and to be contemned; to be ill-used and to *succeed*. Such is the law which God has annexed to the promulgation of the truth; its preachers suffer, but its cause prevails. Be it so. Joyfully will we consent to this compact. And the more you attack us personally, the more, for the very omen's sake, we will exult in it.'

of Englishmen,' 'Morning Star of the Reformation,' 'spiritual Protestantism,' 'Protestant Church of England,' and '*venerable Cranmer?*' " * Is there, then, no reality in the foundation of our reverence for that wonderful man? And does not such a critique naturally encourage a flippant way of speaking of those ornaments of our Church, the Marian martyrs, ill becoming a member of that Church which, under God, owes more to them than to any other men, after the Holy Apostles, the first preachers of Christ upon these shores, and the companions of Augustine in his mission at the close of the sixth century. †

* British Critic, No. lvi., p. 528.---I do not observe separately upon the other alleged unrealities in this series of quotations; nor am I defending the logic or the meaning of each phrase, when I say that the tone of the critique is obvious enough, and is really not becoming in a son of the "*Protestant Church of England.*"

On the use of the word *Protestant*, Dr. Hook has some valuable remarks in note (E) of his "Call to Union:" I extract the following passage:---

"It is certainly absurd to speak of the Protestant *religion*,—i. e. a negative religion, but there is no absurdity in speaking of the Church of England, or of the Church of America, as a Protestant Church---the word Church conveys a positive idea, and there is no reason why we should not have *also* a negative appellation. If we admit that the Church of Rome is a true though a corrupt Church, it is well to have a term by which we may always declare that, while we hold in common with her all that she has which is catholic, spiritual, and pure, we protest for ever against her multiplied corruptions. Besides, the word, whether correctly or not, is in general use, and is in a certain sense applicable to the Church of England; it is surely, therefore, better to retain it, only warning our congregations that when we call ourselves Protestants, we mean no more to profess that we hold communion with all parties who are so styled, than the Church of England, when in her creeds and formularies she designates herself not as the *Protestant* but as the *Catholic* Church of this country, intends to hold communion with those Catholic Churches abroad which have infused into their system the principle of the Council of Trent. Protestant is our negative, Catholic our definite name. We tell the Papist that with respect to him we are Protestant; we tell the Protestant Dissenter that with respect to him we are Catholics; and we may be called Protestant or Protesting Catholics, or, as some of our writers describe us, Anglo-Catholics."

† On the subject of the respect due to the most eminent of our reformers, I have already written much at length in the second number of "Cyril Fortescue," a series of papers in the Englishman's Magazine.

It is generally known, I believe, that the *British Critic* stands now upon grounds which render its decisions far less important ;* so that it is scarcely worth while to examine its later pages at length. But we must ask, what is to be expected from such articles as that on Bishop Jewel, in the number for July last, and that on The Port Royal, in the last number? As for the latter article, the first page warns us indeed what we may expect, and the man is himself to blame who is led far astray, after having read such a passage as the following :—" Rome, with that strange tact with which, with all her present errors in practice, she seems to have laid her finger on what is erroneous in doctrine."—Surely, in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird ;† and fascinating as the Portraits of La Mère Angélique and La Mère Marie des Anges may be to some forms of deep devotion, such a passage as that just quoted neutralizes the poison of the sting, which seems intended to instigate men to an unfavourable comparison, not between the fashionable piety of the present day and that of two devoted nuns (which is fair enough,) but between the means of grace in the Roman Church and in our own, which is in the first place unjust, and the result of a partial view of both ; and which is also, (and this is more to the purpose,) far from consistent with the dutiful allegiance of a Christian to the particular church which God has made his mother and his guide.

The last specific charge that I shall adduce against the writers of the Oxford School, is that their language has latterly savoured of party : has tended to prove, that with all their protests against it, (which I am sure are sincere,) they are in the position, (driven into it perhaps by circumstances, yet too readily accepting it,) of a party within the Church ; a party whose designation they have themselves chosen or adopted, when they call themselves emphati-

* I shall not be taken as asserting a fact, but only as indicating a general opinion, when I say, that it is hinted, that Mr. Newman, not being able to keep Mr. Mozley in order, as a contributor to the *British Critic*, put the editorship into his hands.

† Prov. i. 17.

cally *Catholics*. They seem to have committed, (though not I trust without opportunity of retrieve,) the very same fault with those who are now their most bitter opponents, and who delight to call themselves *Evangelicals*; the fault being, in either case, not that the one school is not Catholic, and that the other is not evangelical, (which is a different question altogether)—but that to take either name as an assumption of peculiar excellence, is, by imputation, to deny somewhat essential to the Christian, to those whom the Church does not permit us to treat as separated either from her communion, or from her spirit: and if this assumption is not to be allowed on the one hand, it must be equally deprecated on the other.

Now let me test this assertion that the spirit and the language of party have found their way into the Oxford school, by one or two expressions in a letter of Professor Keble's to Mr. Justice Coleridge. First read the passages as they stand, and then substitute the word *Evangelical* for the word *Catholic*, and the language of a party will stand confessed to on either hand.

“Considerate Catholics [*Evangelicals*] know well, that there is, practically, no separating the high and comprehensive views which that name imports from any of the moral branches of education..... they must either teach Catholicism, [*Evangelical truth*,] or not teach at all.”*

“We should indeed be liable to the taunts and reproaches which now affect us so little, were we to go on subscribing by virtue of our Catholic [*Evangelical*] interpretation. I would not willingly excite unnecessary scruples, nor cast a stumbling-block in the way of any man's conscience; but is it not so, that had Convocation ratified any thing equivalent to the recent vote of the Heads of Houses, not only tutors, holding the *Catholic* [*Evangelical*] view of the Articles, must have resigned their offices to avoid breach of trust, but no academic whatever, of the like principles, could either subscribe afresh, or continue his subscription.”†

The very title of this pamphlet suggests an uncomfortable thought of the position which it advocates; “The case of *Catholic subscription* to the Thirty-nine Articles considered: with especial

* The case of Catholic subscription, &c., p. 17.

† *Ib.* page 24.

reference to the duties and difficulties of *English Catholics* at the present crisis." This surely seems like separating between *English Churchmen* and *English Catholics*, and making their subscription different. In other words it seems like vindicating to a particular set of men the title and the character which is theirs only in common with others : for really it were too much to exclude from the terms *Catholic subscription* and *English Catholics*, the *persons*, and the *subscription* of those who labor to be catholic not by cavilling at the articles of a Catholic (to wit) the English Church ; but by holding them in pious obedience, and by subscribing them *ex animo*.

Nor is it doubtful that a more ill-natured interpretation may be put on the word *Catholic* as here used : for the history of the letter suggests that by *Catholics* may perchance be meant those who have so far outstepped their Anglicanism, as to have looked with a longing eye on the doctrines and practices of Rome : and indeed the tract out of which this letter arose, does certainly contemplate such persons ; and that very justly, for there can be no reason why those who have too nearly approached to Rome should be repelled, while those who too nearly symbolize with Geneva are admitted : but as a term of exclusive praise, or even of honourable distinction, we can no more allow the adjective *Catholic* to the one than to the other.

I have no difficulty in believing that Professor Keble is wholly free from any such meaning in the use of the word ; and that it has arisen only from the haste with which a polemical pamphlet is likely to be set forth : but I am sure, and he must himself know it, that a general tendency to assume the term *Catholic* as a term of eminence, and as a party distinction, is becoming visible among the less wise and cautious disciples of his school ; and this indication of real party feeling in the many, should make the wise few most careful not to concur in the use of words which may at least be interpreted into a party meaning.

Let me then repeat, for the warning of younger brethren, that as a matter of fact, it is assuming too much to call themselves

Catholics κατ'ἐξοχὴν. One who is sacramentally in union with the Church of England, which is a Catholic Church, though he differ from this or that school in matters of private opinion, far more than many who would not be included in their application of the term *Catholic*, is yet a *Catholic*, and his subscription is *Catholic subscription*, in every just and true sense. It tends directly to party to deny this, even by implication : it tends remotely to schism, and that more strongly than the parallel conduct of those who assume the title *Evangelical* : for as the contrary of *Catholic* is *schismatical*, we impute a schismatical leaning to others, if we arrogate the term *Catholic* to ourselves alone ; and this imputation is more likely to irritate men to actual separation, than any vague imputation of false doctrine.

And now let me hastily recapitulate some part of the charge which I have ventured to advance against the later productions of the Oxford school.

So far as separate opinions are concerned, it were somewhat harsh to impute to them more than the license which may be fairly conceded to private judgment : although there are some few questions, as for instance, that of reserve* in communicating religious knowledge, and of the use of tradition,† on which they have, to

* On the subject of reserve the opinions of the Oxford school seem to me to be as much at variance with the primitive church, as with our own ; for it was from the unbaptized, the uninitiated, as they were otherwise called, that the *diciplina arcani* concealed certain mysteries ; whereas any partial application of the rule of reserve in our own church, would keep the baptized, not the unbaptized, in ignorance.

† Or perhaps it were more just to say,—the question as to what is, and what is not to be accounted tradition. If I do not entirely mistake the Oxford school, they would admit for tradition the *unrecorded* floating impressions of what may perhaps have been taught with authority, though never clearly defined and ascertained ; whereas the Church of England both in her own authoritative expressions, and as she is represented by her best divines, certainly regards *recorded* tradition only, as of any authority. On the value of tradition, where the prior question (what is Tradition ?) is determined, it does not seem that there is any difference between the received doctrine of the church, and the use of the Oxford writers.

say the least, forsaken *the spirit* of their own Church. Nor do I think it possible to deny,—however unwilling I should be to press a particular charge,—that the combined effect of numerous and separately considered scarcely appreciable lines and touches of such a character, all drawn one way, and all tinged with one color, has given to the body of truth around which they are grouped, a somewhat one-sided aspect, and a complexion not its own.

To *startle* men's minds I suppose the writers in question would admit to be their aim; and I for one should grant the goodness of the intention: perhaps they would not hesitate to say that they would even *unsettle men's minds*; and this too might be permitted, if the centre be not removed or shaken, which must determine their form and character when they fall again into repose, and assume the firmness and equality of a regular system. But the burden of the charge against them is, that they have unsettled men's minds on most important points, and at the same time taken away this centre: and that they have not only removed the right centre, but substituted for it a wrong one. From their own church, which is to them the ordinance of God, for the very purpose among others of holding men together in a sound and catholic unity, they have stolen, or acted as if they would steal, the affections and the reverence of her sons: they have spoken slightly of almost all that we have been taught to respect and love, as the visible form which the Church wears to her children; and the Church is too high an abstraction to appear to most men except by such manifestations of herself. Her formularies, her articles, her Reformation, her martyrs, her aspect, and gait, and complexion, all these things they have thought a subject of criticism; and they have even instituted, or set on less qualified persons to institute, a comparison between her and the parallel features of the Church of Rome; setting men by a most strange accident, or a most sinister cunning, in the way of an unfavourable comparison for our own Church. And then having almost suggested the question,—*Shall we be leaving a lower for a higher form of Christianity, if we forsake England and flee into the arms of Rome?* they have given us

the rule of Catholic consent on which to frame an answer : a rule which few can apply with tolerable skill and equity ; and which is to the individual without authority : for no individual has *authority* in matters of controversy.*

And besides all this, and as if to shew that they gladly accepted the natural consequences, whether or no they were anticipated from the first, they have sanctioned the use of a name of distinction, whereby the *Catholic* in England is separated from the *Churchman* in England, and placed on higher ground. An assumption which we cannot admit, without danger to the Church, as well as an undue exaltation of certain brethren above the rest.

And why this loosening of the hearts and minds of men from their ancient and true moorings ? It is not that Englishmen had got to love and respect their own Church too much ; and that they wanted to be detached from her arms that they might take a more manly range into an open province of theology. It was just the reverse. I grant that among the least truly obedient of her

* The danger of forming a habit of appealing to primitive forms, or Catholic consent, without at least as confirmed a habit of deference to the Church to which we belong, I have before referred to in the preface to the "Life and times of St. Cyprian."

"While we are studying the history of a particular Church and age, for the sake of the "Catholic" spirit which it embodies, we may be in danger of forgetting that that spirit may animate very different forms ; and so we may hastily condemn our own Church, because we, in our folly and pride, deem the various arrangements which she has made, in wisdom and in love, inconsistent with a primitive character, because they are not identical with a particular primitive form. This is a grievous error into which those are likely to fall, who are seeking to catholicize the present generation of the sons of the church, by a reference to the ecclesiastical records of any former age. But let us all remember, (and the author of this volume feels that the warning is necessary for himself, which he presses on others,) that if, in pretence of a catholic spirit, we touch but the hem of the garment of our own holy mother, except with the deepest reverence and piety, we most unequivocally give the lie to our pretensions. There is no one thing which our church can require, so long as she hath the grace of God with her, so wrong, so opposed to all Catholic form and spirit, as the unfilial judgment, or the imperfect obedience, of any of her sons."

I may refer also to the last chapter of my pamphlet on the Anglo-Catholic use of two lights on the altar, for statements of the danger of going to some other standard than the laws of our own Church, for what may seem Catholic customs.

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sons, there was a sickening use of *words* of respect, which meant nothing ;—that men who kicked at authority, and altered the services of the Church to their own fancy, talked ever and anon of *our beautiful Liturgy*, of *our venerable Church*, and the like : but the evil was not in *their* too great affection or deference surely. *The Establishment* too was lauded in like fashion on mere political conservative grounds, and our *excellent Establishment* and *our learned prelacy* were watchwords of a faction ; and were thus employed by men who would have hated the Church, if they could have understood her spiritual position, and her claims to exercise authority and to enforce discipline. Surely the remedy for all this was to bring forth the Church to the admiration of men ; to make her personally visible, if I may so speak, in the beauties of her external developments of principle ;—to claim for her love because she deserves it, and authority because it is given her of the Lord.

Feeling, as I do, my own great inferiority, I scarcely know how to advise the masters of this school ; and yet, as an humble brother in the Church I may *intreat* them for myself and others, to consider whither their course is tending, and how it may be kept from too rapid a deflexion, and too dangerous a fall. They themselves seem to feel that they have evoked a spirit whose extravagance they have not sufficiently restrained. Perhaps they cannot dismiss this spirit, but it is not too late to modify his influence. Surely for themselves they do feel the claim of their own Church *on our allegiance* ;—surely they do not deny her claim upon *our love*. Would they but give to their feeling the strong expression with which they know how to clothe all their thoughts ! In place of little sinister remarks, and sneers so acute and polished that they elude the touch, and almost plant a wound unsuspected, would they but sometimes express the respect and tenderness which they feel, how powerful would be the effect of such an amiable weakness, if weakness it be ! Would they but take occasion by the little incidental expressions of love which flow from a warm heart, and by the stringent demands of obedience upon which they so well know how to act themselves, in any time of trial,—would they thus

enforce and stimulate the general principles and affections of filial submission,—submission of the heart and mind, as well as of the hand,—how noble would be their position!—how great their reward! With a little modification we might almost address them in the words of Dionysius of Alexandria to Novatian, and say :—“ If by the unlooked for application, or by the unforeseen recoil of your favourite principles, you have been forced to appear as leaders of a party within, but not wholly with, the church, you will show your sense of this by professing most energetically the claim that she hath on the allegiance and duty of her sons; and, if by your personal influence, or by the force of reason, you can persuade your companions to return to a better mind, the merit of your success *now*, will overbalance the misfortune of your too great influence *before*. The evil which is past will be imputed to you no longer, and for the healing of the Church you will receive deserved praise. But if others have been urged even beyond your influence, yet at least return yourselves to a safer and a better path.”*

If there are any who will not, in sincerity and love, return to the filial obedience from which they have been moved, but will on the contrary, carry their disaffection and their exercise of private judgment so far as to dally with the claims of some sect, or of some other church, to be accounted a better communion,—what shall I say to them? Whither would they go? To Geneva and her Presbyterian “platform;” on which the blight of Socinianism has fallen, as if to warn man that a divine polity cannot be slighted without endangering the most holy doctrines; and whose progeny, monstrous in evil, astounded the whole earth with their inhuman and godless deeds, even in this land, when Presbyterianism and Puritanism were awhile triumphant. But I will not suppose it possible that

* Εἰ δὲ ἄκων, ὡς φήσ, ἤχθης, δεῖξεις, ἰὰν ἀναχωρήσης ἐκὼν. Καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐν πίστει ἢ εἰδῶσαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἔλθειν, μῆλλον ἔσται σοι τοῦ σφάλματος τὸ κατόρθωμα, καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐ λογισθήσεται, τὸ δὲ ἐπαινεθήσεται. Εἰ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντων ἀδυνατοίης, σώζων σῶζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν.—Eusebius vi. 45.

on this side the lure can be effectual; because, although the lessening the hold of the Church of England on men's affections and judgment does really tend as much to defection on the one side as on the other; yet at present their greatest enemies accuse neither the masters nor the scholars of the Oxford school of driving their disciples to Calvinism and Puritanism. What the result of a reaction may be on themselves, or what the consequence on others of the repulsive character of the extreme which they are advocating, we may guess, but will not anticipate. At present, and immediately, there seems no danger on that side.

But will he who is unmoved by the cold aspect of Geneva, yield himself a willing victim to the more fascinating smiles of Rome? And what then will he seek?—A Catholic communion?

In England certainly he will find no such communion out of the Church of England:—but in Popery, as in every other form of dissent, a mere sect;—a sect beginning in usurpation, carried on with base intrigue, and now existing a monstrous jumble of worldly and religious craft;—of loud assumption of unbending principles, and of actual concession to the Protestantism by which it is surrounded. Let the divisions in the Church be exaggerated, and the diversity of the teaching of her ministers be magnified to the utmost, she will still be one and unvarying, in comparison of the Proteus form and chameleon complexion of Popery.

But suppose for argument sake, that the Papists of England were really a church, still what would be gained by fellowship with Rome? Is there no penalty attached to sin and guilt in a church as well as in an individual? And will the communicant be free from the curse which falls upon the society of which he is a member? Is it an indifferent thing to a Christian whether his church is or is not *drunk with the blood of the saints*,—is or is not, in fact (however it be in theory,) an idolatrous church:—has or has not in many countries and at many times, openly pandered to the vices and errors of men:—has been a mark for the finger of scorn to point at for her morals, or a light to the world shining to the

glory of God? Is it nothing to one who fancies that the voluntary system is so far true that he is privileged to choose his communion, that the one to which perchance his affections lean, has deluged with blood the countries of the High Alps, of Spain, of America, of the Low Countries, of France, of England; whether innocent blood or not, is no question, but shed unjustly:—that the communion which he has dared to love, or at least to dally with, has beheld in such a day as that of St. Bartholomew, an occasion of solemn religious rejoicing:—Is it nothing to him that wherever general education has not kept pace in Popish communities with the religious instincts of the people, idolatry is grossly practised, and shamelessly allowed; nay, that it is encouraged by all kinds of indirect arts of the ecclesiastical authorities, and by the obvious teaching of the clergy? Is it nothing that the sale of Indulgences and pardons has been avowedly once (if it be not avowedly now) carried on by that Church, to the contempt of the lowest common-sense notion of what must be the will of a Holy God? And is it nothing that the morality of Rome has become proverbially low;—and that the proverb is being justified, day by day, no farther from our own homes than in the Popish population of Ireland; where religion is still made, as it used to be in days we would forget for the honour not of Rome only, not of Christendom only, but of humanity itself, to justify treachery, cruelty, and murder?

Ignorance is not generally the fault of those to whom alone these questions must be addressed—and sure I am, that if they will really answer them, out of their own knowledge of history, none will be struck out as irrelevant to the subject, or of dubious answer; but many more on the contrary will suggest themselves of equally fearful import. And yet Romanism is the communion that we have had set before us of late in a thousand forms of tender blame, almost of disguised affection and approval—as if the Church of Rome were to bear away the palm of truth and holiness and purity from the Church of England. Sinful we are and have been; but if it be open to us to speak at all of ourselves, sinful we have not been in comparison with her.

But perhaps Rome, scandalous as she has been in her collective character, may pretend to the formation of more exalted saints, among her individual sons. Will a man seek in the Romish communion, then, the means of arriving at a higher degree of grace, and of forming in himself a more perfect Christian character? That Rome affords this, is, I suppose, the inference to be deduced from such productions as the article on the Port-Royal, in the last British Critic. What then—just because they present not themselves in the same form, are there no opportunities in the Church of England of cultivating self-discipline, mortification, charity, zeal, and piety with *la Mère Angélique*? The daily need of the poor in every neighbourhood, will afford work enough for many such men and women; and work which will not be lessened in labor, nor in self-denial, nor in charity, nor in piety, because it is not rendered more easy, nor made a matter of more defined and stated duty by the habits and rules of conventual life. We may fast and pray as much and as freely, we may sell or give all that we have to feed the poor, without transcending (God forbid the thought) the moral requirements of our own Church. We shall find, indeed, a little less encouragement to convert what is simply disgusting without being pious, into meritorious acts; nor shall we be so readily tempted to cry out **A MIRACLE!** when God's providence has graciously provided for our need.* We shall not

* I hope I shall not be understood as wishing to derogate in the slightest degree from *La Mère Angélique's* reputation for sanctity. I am only adducing some little blemishes in her deportment for the same purpose that the author of this article seems to have presented her virtues; that is to indicate the moral character of the system which produced them: and I cannot help seeing that I am making a much fairer use of the faults than he has made of the virtues of the holy Mother; for the faults certainly do arise out of the particular system; the virtues as certainly belong to the Church of God, without reference either to the communion of Rome, or the conventual system. In one instance above alluded to *La Mère Angélique* was superior to her artificial system; for she had the humility to consider an attempt, (quite within the limits of such things as they are ascertained by the received legends of the saints,) to attribute a miracle to her, rather a temptation and trial of her humility, than a justifiable homage to her sanctity.

go nasty, in emulation of the choicest saints of Rome ; but to as high a frame of devotion, the rules of life and the means of grace which are open to us, will lead us, under God's blessing. When he has really exceeded the requirements of the Church of England, and really exhausted all her means of grace, then let a man hasten to a purer Church, if such there be.

But there is less discouragement among the Romanists ; and less opposition from authority, to any attempt at holiness. Say you so : then compare the account of Nicholas Ferrar and Little Gidding, with that of La Mère Angélique and the Port Royal, and say whether authority may not co-operate with a life of piety in the Anglican, and oppose it in the Romanist ? And if this become a matter of circumstances, of time and place, and individual caprice, where is the gain ? Does any man believe that if, with ordinary prudence, a clergyman of the Church of England should seek the sanction of his Bishop to repeat the beautiful scene at Little Gidding, he would be repelled ? I trow not. Does any one doubt that if a few Christian ladies would form themselves into a society, with due discretion, and under a proper superintendence, of which religion should be the bond, and charity the occupation, either the laws or the spirit or the authorities of the Church of England would hinder them ? I trow not. Individual opinion might vary as to the propriety of the details of their plan, but piety, devotion, discipline, and charity, they would be at liberty to cultivate ; nay, they would be encouraged and helped to cultivate to the utmost.

But there is a greater unity and certainty in the faith among Romanists than with us. No, sir : you are too acute to be led away by the sophism which compares Popery with a jumble of all sects calling themselves Protestant, to prove that the Church of England, which is no sect at all, is less united in doctrine and in spirit than Rome. What have we to do, any more than Rome, with the differences and quarrels between Independents and Quakers and Socinians and Methodists ? And setting aside all these and the like, not adherents but opponents, we are not less

but more united among ourselves, and more uniform than the Church of Rome. Differences of opinion among individuals there will and must be (and what can give more liberty to them than the Jesuitical theory of probability), and allowing for this, which must be allowed for every society, ecclesiastical or otherwise, think you, sir, that the priest of a polite and highly cultivated congregation in Edinburgh, where Popery is a suspected sect,—that the priest of a poor ignorant congregation in Ireland, where Popery is a persecuting faction,—that the priest of a church in Spain, where the Pope was all in all, and the priest of a church in France, where he was next to nothing,*—think you that these all teach a more uniform system than has been taught by the most varying forms which the Anglican clergy ever assumed, as High Church or Low Church, as dominant or persecuted, as wanderers in foreign lands, or at home in their own? And what can exceed the uniformity—the almost identity—of the faith and service of the Church, wherever she holds communion with England? In Scotland, in America, besides the countries where the Church is actually a part of ours, as in the colonies, the uniformity in our articles, orders, and ritual, even in minute points, is really wonderful; and challenges comparison, or rather disdains comparison, with anything that Rome may present.

But, after all, the most truly practical question that occurs is this: What course are moderate Churchmen to pursue in the present crisis? and how are they to exert their influence to the utmost, to counteract the tendency to defection, or to disaffection at the least, which seems to have arisen? To such persons one straightforward and open path presents itself, and one which can scarcely be called invidious against any:—to hold the Church of England enshrined in the best affections of their own hearts, and to repel as treason against their mother any slight upon her authority or dignity; and if they are in places of rank and influence, to hold her

* If the case is now reversed in these two countries, the argument is only strengthened by the change.

up to the love and reverence of those about them, and to claim their allegiance for her, not as a matter of choice and fancy, but as a duty. If the Church of England is truly *Catholic*, (and it does not become those who minister or communicate at her altar, to admit a doubt of it in their own minds, or to allow a question of it to colour their teaching or conversation with others,) if the Church of England is Catholic, then it is truly the most Catholic course to take, to urge her claims on the duty and affection of her sons. It is through the truth and holiness and divine life of the Church in which God has placed him, that each individual Christian is Catholic, and one with the Church and with Christ. And if, to maintain this union more effectually, the heart is to be moved on the side of duty, where can there be greater incentives to love, than those which are presented by the history and present position and character and maternal offices of the Church of England? How much hath Providence done for her, to mark her out as beloved of God, and to make her lovely among men! How soon was the soil of this land wet with the blood of martyrs! How soon did the Church of this land send her Bishops to testify her faith to the whole world! How gracious was the Providence which sent hither Augustine and his companions to revive the spirit of the Church, and to erect the candlestick again in its place, when many churches (those in Asia Minor and in Africa, for instance,) were suffered to perish, and their light was clean put out. Then, again, at a time when all the churches of the Roman obedience were degraded most painfully,* she was divinely permitted to exert her native energies, and to exercise her inviolable right to reform herself; and through the good providence of God (and we accept the gift as divine the more certainly from the unworthy channel in which it flowed), she alone, in all Protestant Europe, maintained

* There is no question, or should be none, between Rome and us as to the necessity of a Reformation, for it was confessed at Trent. The real question is whether a particular church has a right to reform itself, without permission or assistance of Rome; and nothing but extravagant party can raise a question on this point.

the form and body of a visible Church ; one in discipline and polity, as well as in doctrine, with the Churches of Apostolic times. Where the influence of the prince effected anything in this change, we can only confess that he was an instrument, albeit most unworthy, in the hands of God ; but for the maintaining among us of what was purely spiritual, and for the assurance of an orthodox faith, there were many men worthy (so far as it is given to men to be worthy) to set their hand to this work. And they maintained their integrity through various and bitter struggles. Popery and Puritanism, in their turn, were iron furnaces of affliction, in which the faith and patience of the saints were tried, and from which they came forth as gold purified seven times in the fire. Surely we may say ourselves, and teach our children to say, " We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, and in the times of old."* And we may take from the past an omen for the future, and with all confidence set our love on a Church which the Lord himself hath so delighted to honor.

Nor are there wanting to every individual particular claims of the Church of England on his duty and affections. She is his Mother in Christ, and at her hands he has received Holy Baptism, the grace of Confirmation, and of the Blessed Eucharist, with all other means of grace, each according to his years and circumstances, from his youth up. She has prayed beside his sick bed, or she has blessed his marriage vows, or she has committed his parents and his kindred to her consecrated ground, or she has received his children into her arms at the baptismal font ; and his own bones he has in intention committed to her charge, and consigned to her hallowed dust, to sleep with the confessors and martyrs, with the bishops, doctors, and all the saints whose bodies she has committed to the earth with a blessing, and in hope of a joyful resurrection. A mother's part she has performed and still affords to all, who will still seek it at her hands ; and among all the churches of God of whom we know aught at the present day, we may declare with an honest pride that there is no such mother, or at least that there is none better.

* Psalm xliv, 1.

This affection for the Church of England, with a sense of the *duty* that we owe to her, as well as of the *love* which we feel for her, is the foundation which we must endeavour to lay in others, and guard in ourselves, for a firm adherence to her, and, in her, to the Church of Christ in its wider signification. And if this be well fixed, we need fear but little the effects of any slight differences of private opinions.

But there are several occasions which will serve to test the strength of these feelings of duty and attachment; upon one or two of which I must be allowed to touch.

First, then, one who is attached as he ought to be to his own Church, will certainly be marked by a respectful treatment of the error, so far as it is an error, of ultra-Churchmen: for nothing can be more contrary to the spirit of our Church, and more opposed to her interest, than to irritate into disaffection, and possibly even to secession, men whose very enemies confess them to be earnest in their opinions, and conscientious and devoted in their character. Surely they little think what is the fearful nature of the sin of schism, which is the rending of the body of Christ, who wantonly irritate men who do at least desire the peace and unity of the Church, to a schismatical spirit, or to the very act of schism. What can be more cruel, more fearfully uncharitable, more recklessly indifferent to the best interests of the souls of their fellow creatures, than the dreadful hint thrown out but too plainly by the enemies of the Oxford school, (and though they suspect it not, by the enemies of the Church,) that they should at once go over to Rome:—that they who hold schism to be wicked and dangerous in the extreme, should commit an act of schism, and join a schismatical faction;—and that faction in the communion of Rome, which their advisers seem to think accursed? They would be shocked at the thought of impelling their greatest foe to rush headlong down a precipice, or to hold his hands on a chafing dish till it was consumed; but they can coolly recommend not the least worthy of their brethren in the Church to rush into what

is agreed on all hands to be dangerous to the soul. They would shrink from advising some little dereliction of moral principle, some little lie, or petty theft, but to the sin of schism they can calmly stimulate their fellow creatures and fellow Christians.

Greatly must the heinousness of this offence have been changed since St. Chrysostom gave so excellent rules, not for the thrusting off, but for the bringing back of those who had somewhat erred from the right path. Which then is really right, (for both cannot be right)—The Low-Churchman now, calling upon his brethren to go over to what he holds a most dangerous communion, or St. Chrysostom who says, “Great is the charge which falls upon a Christian Pastor, when he has to knit together again the broken limbs of the Church. A tender of sheep hath the whole flock following him, whithersoever he leads : and if one of them be turned aside from the direct path, and deserting the good pasture, graze in barren or precipitous places, it is but a louder call and the stray sheep returns again to the flock : but if a man have wandered but a little from the direct path of a true faith, the Pastor hath need of no little skill, and of unwearied patience and forbearance ; for he cannot bring him back by force ; but by much persuasion must he recall him to the truth from which he fell away. Much then doth he need a generous ardent mind, that he may neither weary in his labour, nor despair of the salvation of those who are in error ; and that thus encouraged, he may without intermission labour at their conversion, if it may be that God will give them a knowledge of the truth, and deliver them from the snares of the Devil.”* The care, and skill, and anxiety, the mixture of tenderness and authority, of charity and zeal necessary for this work, did so great a man as Chrysostom account a part of the scarcely human qualifications for the priestly office.

* *De Sacerdotio*, II. iv. The reader may compare with this passage St. Chrysostom's declaration for himself, in the eleventh of his Homilies in the Epistle to the Ephesians, of the extreme miseries and insults which he would rather endure personally, than that any considerations should drive but a single individual from the Church.

Surely, surely, much as the authority of Chrysostom's judgment may be slighted, such expressions as these do read a lesson to men who can speak, and that calmly, and with deliberation, as if they would rejoice in the secession of their brethren from the body of the Church. Is it possible that they really feel triumph rather than sorrow, when they fancy that their auguries are justified by an occasional defection? Is it possible that they are really, as they seem to be, looking out with intense desire for such cases? and that they follow with wistful eyes the movements of their brethren, like vultures hovering over an army's march that they may batten on the carcases of the fallen? Can this be so with any who are men, and who call themselves Christians?

If it be so, little has been, hitherto, the gratification of their unnatural appetite. One only instance that I know of has occurred of a defection to Popery of one whom their opponents could affect to class with the Oxford school; and (though it be invidious to say it, yet for the truth's sake it must be said,) that instance is not such as to afford a test of the value of principles: for it is not strange that a man of *tried instability* (if a solecism in language may be employed to express a singular exhibition of character) should wander again, as he has used to wander hitherto. Meanwhile many who verged towards Popery from Low Churchism have been preserved by the providential intervention of a better system; while, on the other hand, so many have fallen into the arms of Rome from the ranks of the Evangelical school, that they ought at least to lament with us, instead of mocking at any.

That we are not so to act as those whom I have ventured thus to reprove, must, I think be clear to any one who will seriously and prayerfully ponder the matter. I think it equally clear, that we are to hold out the right hand of fellowship most heartily to men whom we cannot but admire on the whole, though we may differ from them in some matters of private opinion; and that though we *may*, and *should* protest against what we think of dangerous consequence in their public teaching, yet we should do

this in gentleness and love. That we should treat them not as insidious foes, who desire to subvert our faith ; but as friends in earnest and zealous for our weal, though perhaps sometimes mistaking the way in which they should advance it. That we should be at least as ready and as courageous to go with them as far as we can see and feel that they are right, as we are to point out to them in kindness where we believe them to be wrong. This were surely a better way to win them back, (if it be at all just to speak of them as *needing to be brought back*,) or, if that be the more appropriate phrase, to restrain their too unbridled course, before it has issued in definable error, or in actual separation.

Very far from us be the cowardly conduct of those who would desert the good that they actually hold, because it may have been suspected of some alliance with an evil to be dreaded in future. No ; let us rather hold our position the more energetically for all causeless opposition, and still let us labour more and more to commend the doctrines and discipline of the Church, and all her visible manifestations to her children and to the world, by a constant and careful attention to her doctrines, discipline, and formularies. A little perhaps we may be vexed, as we shall certainly be much pained, at the bad construction which is put upon our endeavours ; at the wonderful neglect of order in those who make conscience of attacking us ; at the quickness of those to whom we should look for support in carrying out the spirit as well as the actual requirements of the Church, to discern and to reprove the slightest unauthorized or hasty step on our side, while the gross neglect of those who are opposed to us, is overlooked ;—let us not, however, be moved to leave the straightforward path of duty, but let us still, through evil report and good report, stand at our post as devoted sons and obedient servants of the Church of England,—ready, in much weakness, yet in much sincerity also, to maintain her doctrines, and to vindicate and uphold her principles and her laws.

Immense has been the effect already, of a steady, progressive attempt to do this ; for many of the laws, and forms, and doctrines

of the Church which used to be despised by almost all, are now held in veneration and obeyed by all but the very lowest ; and bad as the case is still, yet as compared with the carelessness, and irreverence, and heterodoxy of Low Churchmen of the last generation, their successors are in comparison sound in theology, and consistent in ecclesiastical propriety. And strong as the effect of adherence to the doctrines and ritual of the Church, with the exhibition of so much of her spirit as we could attain to, has been on the Evangelical School, it will not be less powerful on the Ultra Church School ; for this, if anything, will shew them that the Church of England is really that which they are seeking for, a Church of high principles in ecclesiastical order and polity ; of sound Catholic theology, of primitive antiquity, and deeply spiritual ; of an inexhaustible wealth in the means of grace ; and, in all the methods by which a Church can be embodied to her children, pure, holy, and beautiful. No careless service of her priests and ministers, no lax and lukewarm assertion of her doctrines, no meagre exposition of her spirit, will shew her forth in her beauty ; though indeed the elements of beauty will be there, to be brought out and embodied by some of her happier and more devoted sons : but, if we still advance as we have done, her intrinsic excellence, her visible beauty will at last be acknowledged by all but the most depraved, and it shall be said of her with reference both to her inherent perfection, and to her external comeliness, "The King's daughter is all glorious within, her clothing is of wrought gold :"* or if this were to appropriate to a particular church what is in strictness applicable only to the Church universal, yet at any rate it may be said to her, "Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."†

* Psalm xlv, 13.

† Proverbs xxxi, 29.

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THE
PRESENT STATE OF PARTIES
IN THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND:
WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ALLEGED TENDENCY OF THE
OXFORD SCHOOL
TO THE DOCTRINES AND COMMUNION OF
ROME.

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MDCCCXLII.

THE
PRESENT STATE,

&c.

THERE are few persons, probably, who love the church, and who look attentively at the passing indications of her peace or agitation, of her weal or woe, who are not made anxious, and, as far as is consistent with a perfect trust in God's Providence, alarmed by the present posture of affairs. The fears of many are foreboding defection to Popery from a very influential school in the church, and one to which every churchman feels that we are greatly indebted; and there are not wanting signs that the very masters of that school are startled into a conviction, that they have really been instrumental in placing the faith of some of their disciples in jeopardy. The fears of many can never be despicable, however unreasonable they may be, for they have a natural and powerful tendency to produce the crisis which they anticipate; and, in the present instance, though they be founded partly on misapprehension, they may justify a careful view of the circumstances out of which they have arisen—and, perhaps, call for some attempt to mitigate the alarm, where it is unjust, or disproportionate, and to suggest the proper remedy, where there is some reasonable fear.

In the absence of any who would speak with greater authority, I venture, therefore, to offer a few remarks upon the present state of parties in the church, with the alleged tendency of the Oxford School to the errors and communion of Rome; and if there is any

confidence due to one who has not been driven into his present feelings and judgment by a sudden panic, or by the more noisy expression of popular opinion, but has held them for some time, and seen them confirmed by many passing events, this confidence I may fairly claim.* Besides this, I know not that I can take to myself any other credit than that of one who heartily loves his own church, and would humbly devote to her peace and prosperity whatever little influence he may possess.

Names of Parties. But let me first confess a difficulty, and seek indulgence if I be not able to overcome it: let me, at least, obtain the credit of one who desires to avoid offence; and if the offence must come, let it be without the sting of intention on my own part. Feeling with the sainted Bishop Wilson, that "faction and party names are hateful to God and man," I have yet to speak of certain strongly characterized schools within the church, and to apply to them distinctive names: and I must shortly explain how much, or rather how little I mean to infer by those designations.

Evangelical or Low Church. In speaking of one as the *Evangelical School*, I shall only apply to it a title which I believe its adherents do not reject. This title has, however, sometimes been applied sneeringly: in such a sense I will use no word of such sacred import; neither can I use it as conceding that those who assume it are *par excellence* the Evangelical.

Whether they are equally ready to accept it I know not, but the term *Low Church*, as applied to the same school, seems to me to designate them fairly and not invidiously by their avowed tenets; and I use it on that account, and not as implying either praise or

* This claim upon the confidence of the reader seems so important that I shall venture, at the hazard of being thought obtrusive, to refer to several works of my own, extending over a good part of the time that the Ultra-church movement has been developing its principles, in which I have expressed disapproval, or a warning of their unhappy tendency, though the subject has only occurred incidentally.

blame. They cannot be very indignant at an appellation which assumes that they attribute rather less to the authority of the church than any from whom I shall have to distinguish them: but I can only believe of some of them, that they hold with "certain passages that came from Dr. Prideaux in the discussing the questions at Oxford:—

‘*Ecclesia est mera chimæra.*

‘*Ecclesia nihil docet nec determinat.*

‘*Controversiæ omnes melius ad academiam referri possunt, quam ad Ecclesiam.*

‘*Docti homines in academiis possunt determinare omnes controversias, etiam sepositis Episcopis.*’” *

And as I do not mean to insinuate blame in the use of the term Evangelical or Low Church, so Anglo-Catholic or moderate churchmen. neither do I use the term *Anglo-Catholic* as assuming any praise for those whom I thus designate; but merely to express what seems to be the principle which they now feel themselves called on by circumstances most powerfully to apply:—That the church indeed hath power to decree ceremonies, and to determine in matters of controversy,—but that to the English churchman the church of England is for such matters The Church; and that he must go to the records of the church universal not to condemn his own holy mother, but to support and confirm her authority; and to prove, not to question, her teaching. But I must most emphatically declare, that I mean to question the right of none to be called Anglicans or Catholics, in the fullest and most beneficial import of these terms, who are really in communion with the Catholic Church of England.

The same persons whom I have called Anglo-Catholics I have also called *Moderate Churchmen*, believing that their abstract churchism must be moderated by the deep perception of their duty to a particular church.

* Autobiography of Archbishop Laud, p. 136.

Ultra-Church-
men or Ox-
ford school.

That the sense of subjection to their own church has been, of late, so modified in some persons that they do not hesitate to judge the church of England, as if they might take, as individuals, a point of observation above her on the Church Catholic, will justify, I think, the term *Ultra-Churchmen*, as applied to them.

This last, however, I have generally called the *Oxford School*: a designation not strictly correct, but sufficiently well understood, and entirely free from any invidious application.

Origin of Par-
ties at present
existing.

A just view of the history of parties in the Church, so far as their character and conduct have tended to produce the present crisis, will best introduce the subject before us; and to present this I must go back to the days of all others which an Anglican Churchman least likes to have forced upon his recollection,—the days of carelessness and indifference which filled up the greater part of the last century.

Cold Establish-
mentarianism.

We must first, then, revert to that long period of coldness and indifference on which the movement of the Evangelical party, imperfect and irregular as it was, broke with a promise of life and health. Different as the spirit of that day was from the bustle and excitement of our own, it has really influenced our present state and character not a little: for it gave the force of extraordinary necessity to the new movement, and commended it to the affections of many good men by the contrast of zeal with coldness: and, if we may be permitted to say so, it is doubtless visited upon us still as one of the sins of the nation; and it may be, perhaps, in judgment for our former coldness, that even the instrument of God's mercy to us has been, in some degree, a scourge also. A state of continued life and health had required no such potent medicine, and needed no such painful and irregular operations.

Doubtless, as in the days of Elijah, there were then many who had not bowed down before the image of Baal. Many who were the salt of the church in her least spiritual days, and for whose

sake, it may be, God refrained *then* from destroying her, and vouchsafed to her *afterwards* a deliverance. But speaking in general terms of what was plainly visible, a very cold establishmentarianism was all the principle of churchmanship, a very insufficient decency was all the colour of morality, and a dry, half-rational, half-religious theology, was too much the tone of the divinity of those days.

Then came the startling call of the Evangelical school to greater piety and zeal. Viewing it in its better aspect, it was like a voice of thunder calling to a valley of dry bones,—*Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light!** But this school soon assumed the aspect of a party within the church; and, *as a party*, it was sorely defective: and when it came to give a colour to the religious face of society, the defect was perpetuated and increased. The Evangelical movement being deficient in some main particulars of duty and of order, and being erroneous in many doctrinal points, the more religious part of society, in England, assumed, at this time, a character as defective *in the order*—as it was before *in the spirit*, of a church. Precisely the same thing took place in the church generally, which so frequently happens in an individual under analogous circumstances. A man suddenly converted by a startling call to repentance and faith, and entering, with energies untired but untried, on the devotions and duties of a Christian life, does not at once become an example of all Christian perfection. His religion is ardent, but it is deficient in the balance of regulated feeling. Taking up his theology at hazard, and with little better proof than its appeal to his internal perceptions of what he wants, and with no authority but the word of him who first spoke effectually to his conscience; his opinions are certainly *ungrounded in him*, even if *true in themselves*, and are most probably fantastic and disjointed. Lighted as by a meteor blaze to a new aspect of spiritual things, and being to himself a great phenomenon, his

The rise of the Evangelical party.

* Ephesians, v, 14.

religion is almost necessarily subjective; and his vision is introverted, because the most striking object is within. To him religion is feeling, and feeling is religion, as separated far too much from rules of action to be obeyed, and from positive doctrines to be received and held fast. Next to the authority of his first successful teacher, or perhaps before it, his own sense of what is true, (that is, his own feeling,) is his test of doctrine; and hence the strength of individual opinion, and the pertinacious stickling for the right of private judgment. Throughout, his religion is irregular, unauthorized, framed on self, and inconsistent not only with the truth, but in its several parts. By habit he is a churchman; in heart and opinions a dissenter. Towards all shades and differences of religious opinion, and to all diversities of sects and parties he is a liberal; if only they hold, however combined with other things, the two or three doctrines which have wrought most in his own mind: while against all others he is bitter and implacable, as against so many Anti-Christ's; because they have not received Christ just as he has. But with all this evil, he is, however, in earnest, and anxious to please God, and on the whole, quite as good a man as one may be expected to be, who still bears with him the moral imperfection wrought in him by his former sinful or careless life. As healthy as a man may be, who has been cured of a disease which has already distorted his frame, or preyed upon his vitals.

But his conversion is a great grace of God, and an unspeakable blessing. And so surely, in the religious change which I have described, we recognize, without hesitation, the hand of God: in the agents in it we reverence his instruments; and in its effects we adore his grace. Perhaps the leaders in that movement were even better adapted to the end *then* to be effected, than if they had been more largely instructed in the truth, and more steadily grounded in ecclesiastical, that is, in divine polity. Still they assuredly left something to be supplied; and this the Lord of the church seems to have supplied, in a great measure, though as yet but imperfectly, by the positive dogmatic reverential character of a

school of divines, which may be said to have originated with the late excellent Bishop Jebb. This prelate seems first, in these latter days, to have called the attention of the world more openly to what was always held by the sound Anglican-Churchman, though not so prominently advanced,—the distinctive character of the church of England, as equally opposed to Popery and to mere Protestantism. The view which the Bishop of Limerick so admirably evolved in the Appendix to his Volume of Sermons, appealed forcibly to the hearts of many, and stimulated them to give expression to what they felt and knew on this subject. They laboured zealously, with such talent as God had given them, to carry out their sound principles of theology in the important duties of parish priests; while the more eminent of their number were forcibly asserting them in works which will give them a lasting place among the standard divines of our church. Those of whom I now speak have repudiated nothing that is good in the Evangelical movement; neither sneering at spirituality, nor repressing zeal, nor denying the free and sovereign grace of God, nor setting light by a close walk with God; while they have added to all this good the strength and proportions of a sound theology: bringing out, indeed, no new thing, but reviving and reproducing the sterling materials which were in the store-house of the sacred Scriptures, and of the church from the beginning:—pointing, at all times, to something without us, to laws of duty, to a visible church, to positive doctrines, to a holy ritual, and to a sufficient authority, as objects of a Christian's faith, study, feelings, and obedience. And the effect thus produced in the churchmen of the present day is most remarkable. There are, indeed, some exceptions, and glaring ones: but almost every where, as a general rule, holy orders have a meaning, as well as eloquence and piety. The episcopate and office of the bishop are now regarded, as well as the piety and zeal of the individual prelate;—the sacerdotal character and ministry, as well as the sermon of the preacher: we are taught to *pray with*, as well as *sit under*, the priest; and the doctrine of the communion of saints is recognized in the con-

B

The moderate or
Anglo-Catholic
school appears.

gregation of faithful men : the holy sacraments are valued, as well as the feelings which they excite ; the discipline is cultivated, as well as the humility and holiness at which it aims : in short, in these, and a thousand other instances, the teaching of the church of England, by her living ministers, is, to say the least, brought nearer to that of her ritual and articles.

Cry of "Popery"
revived. From some cause or other, (probably from the predilection of the Evangelical school for the works of the Puritans, with whose earnestness they sympathized, and whose dreadful wickedness they imputed, perhaps, to the times, rather than to the men and their principles, but, however, from some cause,) it so happens, that many of the doctrines and practices which Low Churchmen had forgotten, and which the moderate churchmen of the present day are recalling to their recollection, had become connected in the popular mind with Popery. Such are, for instance, the Catholic and Anglican doctrines of the authority of the church, "to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the church, ordained only by man's authority,"* and of its "power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith;"† of the right use of tradition, and the respect due to Catholic councils and primitive fathers; of the holy sacraments; of absolution; of ordination, and of the episcopate especially,—its divine right and apostolical derivation. These doctrines being confused by the ignorant or prejudiced with the Romish notions of Papal infallibility and supremacy, of indulgences, of transubstantiation, of the *opus operatum*, &c., to which they are, on the contrary, absolutely opposed,—the senseless cry of "Popery" was again raised, as it had been by the murderers of Strafford, Laud, and Charles I. ; when the authority, the doctrines, the principles, the ritual of the church of England, were more prominently brought forward. This was, indeed, in both cases, absurd in the extreme, and arose out of a double ignorance, an ignorance of the real character of Popery, and an ignorance of the principles of the

* Article xxxiv.

† Article xx.

Church of England ; but the results were, and may be again, worthy of serious attention, exemplifying the words of Archbishop Laud to one Wells, a New England Minister, who came to insult him in the Tower, and upbraided him with going about to bring Popery into the kingdom : to whom the Archbishop replied,—That he was a better Protestant than he or any of his followers ; and that, what by their ignorance, and what by their railing, and other boisterous carriage, he and his fellows, would soon actually make more Papists, by far, than ever he (the Archbishop) intended.*

The Archbishop's vaticination was justified by the event, for it is well known that there were never so many conversions to Popery, as when the Puritan faction was at its height. Heaven forefend that it should be fulfilled a second time ! But for something, at least, the violence of our modern Puritans has to answer : for partly from this, and partly also (I am free to confess) from a natural liability of all things, however just and good in themselves, to be driven to extremes by weak and fallible men, a modification of High Churchmen arose, which we are obliged to recognize as another party, differing not only in some individual opinions, (which would scarce justify the placing them in a different class,) but also in some very important principles, from those whom I have designated as Anglo-Catholics. I need scarcely say, that I allude to those who are maliciously nicknamed Puseyites, and who are called, not quite correctly, yet without malice, and with convenient conciseness, the Oxford School. Rise of the Oxford School. *Catholics*, perhaps, they would choose to be called, and, in communion, as they are with the church, far be it from me to deny the name to them, as sharing it with them ; but, as their's *par excellence*, and as due only, or even chiefly, to them, I cannot use the term.

The better way to designate them will be to refer to some of the works in which their specific character seems to be displayed, as distinguished from that of the Anglo-Catholic school. I have said that the present active developement of the last-mentioned

* Autobiography of Archbishop Laud, p. 323.

school originated with the late Bishop of Limerick ; and to his works may be added those of Dr. Hook, Professor Sewell, and Mr. Palmer, exemplifying the doctrines and principles by which that school is distinguished. To these may be added the earlier Tracts for the Times : but some of the later tracts, especially those on reserve, and those on the English liturgy, and No. 90, may better be classed, together with some of the late articles in the *British Critic*, (those on Bishop Jewel, and on the Port Royal, for instance,) as characterizing the Oxford School.

The strength of this school is not numerically great ; it is apparently swelled by many, who will escape from it, when they see whither it tends, as hastily as they did from the vagueness and irreverence of Ultra-Protestantism : but still, *it is a party* ;—(a grave assertion, which I feel bound to make, and of which I shall, hereafter, offer abundant proofs,—it is a party ;)—and actuated by a spirit, and characterized by a principle of its own. I reserve particular charges for a future page ; but I must just say, in passing, that without having, at present, except perhaps in one or two instances, exceeded the fair bounds of private opinion, they have exceeded the limits within which the *public* expression of opinion should be retained : and that in the principles on which theological determinations are based, while they have not plainly contradicted any one which an Anglican-Churchman is bound to maintain, they have yet acted upon *one*, at least, which he is bound to oppose ;—that is, they have so acted, as if the position of a Churchman, as a Catholic, gave him a right to judge of his particular church, by some so called Catholic rule, which he may collect for himself out of the records of the church, and to approve her, or condemn, according as this indirect exercise of private judgment may incline him.

Churchmen
driven to ex-
tremes by the
Ultra-Protes-
tant faction.

But before I proceed to the examination of the principles of the Oxford School, I must justify my assertion that it has arisen, in some degree, out of the violence of the Ultra-Protestant faction. Let us take it for

granted, at present, that the ranks of that party have been filled from those of the moderate Churchmen,—(which, perhaps, is not wholly false, since those of the Evangelical school, who have arrived at the other extreme, have generally passed through the mean);—we grant, then, that the ranks of the Oxford School have been filled from those of the moderate church party; but, we add, that it has been, in part, at least, owing to the extreme violence of the opposition of Evangelical Low-Churchmen.

Let us consider the probable effect of such an attack upon persons in their situation,—an attack weak beyond expression in reason and argument, though loud and irritating enough, in the voice of popular clamour. They are called Catholics, Sacramentarians, Puseyites, Tractarians, Semi-Papists, Papists, Jesuists in disguise, with other names equally opprobrious in intention, though by no means denoting equally dangerous errors, or insinuating equal moral delinquencies, and some of which they would gladly accept in a fair sense. No wonder if they become, by degrees, less afraid of the extremes which these names designate, when they have begun to find the consolation of undeserved reproach in the names themselves. Their reputation and character are associated with a party, against whom many things are said falsely; they are condemned together, and execrated together: no wonder if they almost make common cause with a foe, when they are treated as if they had already done so. And their contest, be it remembered, is for something positive, something tangible, and capable of proof. Their position is attacked: they cannot be driven from it by a host of negations, for against these it is impregnable:—farther on, however, they may be tempted to advance; and the strength and the weakness of human reason will be alike dangerous to them. Strong to repel the sophistical reasonings of Ultra-Protestants they certainly are; but they may be weak to resist the natural consequences on themselves of the counter-action: and they who began Anglo-Catholics will probably be driven from their Anglicanism, and so, indirectly, from their

Catholicism, though by a very different process from that which the Ultra-Protestant expected.

Meanwhile, the position of such persons, and, indeed, of churchmen in general, is made more difficult by the one-sided view which the religious world takes of the present movement ;

On the one side the greatest laxity of opinion is permitted, and even the limits of the church ritual are overstepped, without danger of censure : on the other, not only occasional expressions of opinion, where the church of England has not spoken, are condemned,—but a rigid attention to the ritual, and a firm adherence to the very words of her formularies, are looked on with suspicion. The Low Churchman omits portions of the church service, or preaches in direct contradiction to an article, or uses some convenient expedient to shorten the eucharistic feast, or even (and I do not exaggerate) takes occasion from a word in the baptismal service to deliver, during the baptism of a child, a polemical discourse against the doctrine of the church, and nothing is said ; on the contrary, the voice of public opinion is loud in his praise ; he is a zealous, pious, Christian minister : but if a Moderate Churchman venture to approach more and more nearly, by cautious degrees, to the real model contemplated in the ritual of the church, and to the uncompromising statements of positive theology in the church catechism and church service, he is condemned by those around him, and suspected by those above him. The Anglo-Catholic alone may have no conscience ;—none in behalf of what is appointed,—none in behalf of what he has sworn to observe : the other pleads conscience for private opinion merely, and his plea is allowed,—against the observance of a most solemn engagement,—and he is applauded. The Anglican Churchman may not be in love with order, without being superstitious : the Low Churchman may superstitiously hate order, and be accounted wise and charitable. Conscience, earnestness, submission to authority, are denied to the one,—while to the other are permitted conscience, superstition, and private opinion, wheresoever they show themselves, and whithersoever they tend.

It may seem that I am dealing in generals, but I am persuaded that every one who really knows the present state of things will have examples enough crowding into his mind at each assertion. But to exemplify my meaning in a particular case:—the liberty of interpretation of the formularies of our own church. The Moderate Churchman believes that ministerial Absolution has no unmeaning or unimportant connexion with the article of *the forgiveness of sins*; and he refers to no fewer than three separate forms of absolution in our church services in support of his belief, and in proof that it is as well Anglican as Catholic and Christian. On the other hand, Low Churchmen deny the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration; and some of them endeavour to make the formularies of the church speak in their language. Now if it were possible to find an unprejudiced person to whom to refer the question, I would defy him to help seeing that Baptismal regeneration which the Low Churchman abhors, and the doctrine of ministerial Absolution which the moderate Churchman maintains, are, both of them, again and again asserted in the services of the church. Yet, who is denied the liberty of questioning the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration?—Who is permitted the opinion, that ministerial Absolution can have any connexion with the forgiveness of sins? If I insinuate that the man who denies the grace of Baptism is not an Orthodox Churchman, I am at once a bigot; and if I declare my belief that a conscientious minister of the Church of England may absolve a dying man, to his present comfort, and to his eternal benefit, I am a Papist. Such even-handed justice is awarded.

Now what is the natural consequence of all this? Is it to be supposed that men can be irritated on either hand, without being hurried, sometimes, beyond due bounds; and that they will always endure, without impatience, an exercise of judgment which they know to be unjust? Will a set of men, with their faculties about them, and with the weakness of human nature, as well as its strength to stimulate them, sit down exactly where the unjust judgment and the one-sided policy found them; and not probably

be urged a little farther than the truth? While all around are vacillating and unstable, can they alone be expected to stand firm and unmoved? And are they to be freely condemned by those who have driven them into their present position, while they, themselves hold no position in steadfastness?

I hope it is clear, that nothing here said can really tend to justify a departure from sound Anglican principles, upon one's own notions of the greater Catholicity of any party whatever. And having now given some reasons why the Low Churchman should not be too hasty to utter the cry of "*Popery*," I proceed to enquire how far his alarm may be justified, though his judgment be most erroneous; to ask how far the writers of the most influential works on the side of the Ultra-Church movement are justified in the tone which they have assumed, and how far their adherents are justified in the feeling which they have fostered. To determine whether or no they have in any degree stimulated the minds of those who stood ready to accept their teaching, to step beyond the bounds of due submission to the church, and to seek, by an individual act, freedom or redress;—and whether their course of proceeding has not weakened the barrier which stands between the conscience of the English Churchman, and the rejection of the authority and communion of his church.

"Tracts for the Times," their great merits and their defect. The visible influence which they have had upon the public mind, and many concurrent circumstances, determine the search, in this instance, into the "*Tracts for the Times*," and the publications of those avowedly connected with them.

Now there can be no question that the direct tendency of these publications has been good. They have taught sound, positive, dogmatic, Catholic Theology; instead of the meagre, vague, unauthorized fancies of Ultra-Protestants: and the character which they have laboured, not unsuccessfully, to commend, is a deep, consistent, self-denying, exalting piety; instead of the bustling,

self-sufficient pretensions, which have too long usurped the praise of a lowly, Christian deportment.

But combined with the solid gold, is an alloy, in comparative quantity minute; but, in its results, not contemptible:—a habit of thought and feeling which has been embodied in many expressions not sufficiently filial towards the Church of England, and sometimes almost hostile to her. This, if it really existed, was most of all to be deprecated in the instruments of widely extended changes of opinion: for while men's minds were being unsettled on many important points, the attraction of the church of England, as a divinely constituted point of repose, and centre of unity, was lessened, in direct proportion as it ought to be increased. It may be difficult to believe that the spirit of those should be wanting in a filial reverence, whose actual submission and obedience to the church was irreproachable and even exemplary: yet it is scarce possible otherwise to account for many expressions, such as I shall have presently to adduce: and, at any rate, the effects of such words on others have been manifest, and require to be counteracted. There were many who were far more ready to catch the spirit of disaffection, than to follow those from whom they caught it in implicit obedience; and, in these, it would, of course, produce a practical neglect of the authority of their own church, and a conduct which seemed to presume a liberty to go beyond the church in its doctrines, laws, and observances. And this was the more to be deprecated, because it was done under the name of an appeal to a yet higher principle than the authority of a particular church:—the Catholic consent of all churches, and the practice of the best ages of Christianity. The warm and ardent followers of a school which seemed, at least, to use Mr. Sewell's words, to "lead others to consider themselves as disciples of the Catholic Church; rather than as the dutiful and affectionate children of that branch of it, to which we immediately belong:"—to "encourage a fanciful and even self-willed spirit, to throw them back upon a distant period of the church, not for great truths, which we are taught by our own church, and are commanded by

Unfilial language
in speaking of
the Church of
England.

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her to confirm, by such testimony; but for habits of thought and practice, difficult to be realized, impossible to be understood in all their bearings, unfitted, it may be, for our own state, and powerless, for effecting the good which is hoped from them:"*—the warm and ardent followers of such a school, (and I believe that the school of which I am writing is not unjustly so characterized, when a view is given of its failings,) were clearly in danger of carrying principles too far, which are questionable in their application, even by the best and wisest, and must be dangerous when hastily applied by the rash and inconsiderate.

I do not know that the spirit of apparent disaffection has been displayed more evidently (except in the most lamented exhibition of it in Froude's *Remains*) than in the tract, No. 90. It is not the argument itself of that tract which is in the least degree irreverent or unfilial: it is the way in which the Church of England, her formularies and condition are spoken of in the introductory and concluding pages. The passages in which this appears are wholly extraneous to the argument of the tract; and they might have been omitted altogether, or differently expressed, without in the least weakening the force of the whole. I transcribe the following passage as an example:—

"Till her members are stirred up to this religious course, let the Church [of England†] sit still; let her be content to be in bondage; let her work in chains; let her submit to her imperfections as a punishment; let her go on teaching with the stammering lips of ambiguous formalities, and inconsistent precedents, and principles but partially developed. We are not better than our fathers; let us bear to be what Hammond was, or Andrews, or Hooker; let us not faint under the body of death, which they bore about in patience; nor shrink from the penalty of sins, which they inherited from the age before them.‡"

Now does not this passage present the Church of England in an aspect in which her heartily affectionate and implicitly obedient

* Letter to Dr. Pusey, pp. 8, 9.

† The context leaves no possible question as to whether the Church of England is intended.

‡ Tract 90, page 4.

sons do not like to view her?—first, because they feel that before they can take this view of her, they must desert their own proper position: for it is a view *ab extra*, and not only so but from above; whereas they are a part of her very body, compacted with her frame, and animated with her life: or if they are forced for a moment, and by a painful effort of abstraction, to dissociate in themselves the christian from the churchman, they feel that their proper position is not *above* but *very far below*; that they have to look up to the Church of which they are members, and not to behold her from an eminence.

But secondly, the most cordially attached sons of the Church of England do not like to take the view of their Church implied in the passage above cited, because they do not believe it to be a just aspect of her character and condition. For instance: granting that the articles leave many open questions, they will rather say that at the Reformation the Church of England taught, so far as in her articles she did teach, (not as defective in principle or skill, but as best suited her office,) with the gentleness of a loving mother winning children to her arms: and that where she was less absolute and precise, it was not as “*teaching with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies*,”* but as using the mild and healing caution of a sound discretion and discipline. And as to whether it were better to have spoken more sternly, and to have defined more narrowly, and to have left fewer points undecided, (whether against the Papist or against the Protestant recusant,) they feel that the Church, their holy mother, was then, as she still is, and ever must be as long as she has any being, the

* I have been reminded since these pages were written, that Mr. Newman has recalled this expression. Had I been imputing to an individual specific error in opinion, I should have felt it right to cancel this page: but I am merely furnishing an example of a general tone of expression in a school composed of many individuals; and on referring to Professor Keble's letter to Mr. Justice Coleridge, it will be seen that what one person wrote too hastily, according to his own maturer judgment, another is found, even after particular attention had been called to it, heartily to commend.

authority *to judge* as well as *to act*, in all such cases. Nor will they doubt her *wisdom*, any more than her *power* or *authority*; especially since they will not forego the conviction, that the Holy Spirit of God was with the Church of this land in that trying crisis; and they will tremble therefore lest they condemn her where she speaks, permissively at the least, as an oracle of God. Again, if they fancy that they see "*inconsistent precedents*," they will certainly wish to think (and I know not what may be the difficulty, for I know not where are the inconsistencies,) that the greater wisdom which left apparent inconsistencies unreconciled was sufficiently justified in so doing. That "*principles*" should be "*but partially developed*" is, I suppose, inherent in every thing that is finite in duration and in moral circumstances;—for every successive day, and every new occurrence, affords occasion for some new development of principles so extensive in their application as those which run through the whole of true religion: the partial development, then, which is necessary to all limited things, the affectionate sons of a particular church will not consider a reproach; and it may be that after patient study of her constitution, her liturgy, her articles, and the like, they will not think the development of principles in the Church of England at all meagre, though it be necessarily partial.* Thus will they "*bear to be what Hammond was, or Andrews, or Hooker*" in condition; and not bear only, but rejoice, to have the same mother, with (if so be) the same imperfections;—to love and reverence her as much as they, and with them to adhere to her with full and filial honor, confidence, and love.

"*We are not*," indeed, "*better than our fathers*:" I confess it with sorrow and shame, but in one sense I rejoice in the assertion: I rejoice in the assurance that our fathers were better than we, and in the hope that we may be beloved for the fathers' sake: but

* Truly this reproach of "*principles but partially developed*" is most ungraciously cast upon the Anglican Church, by those who so successfully appeal on every occasion to her expressions of high and Catholic principles in her constitutions, and in her various formularies, but especially in her liturgy.

why should we not impute their holiness (under God) to their diligent use of the privileges of the Church ; and labour to follow them in this, rather than affect a sympathy with them in the difficulties presented by the imperfections of the church, which we know not that they felt? A "*body of death*" there was which they bare about with them, which they fainted not under, but strove against;—but it was not the Spouse of Christ, but their own sinful nature which weighed them down : nor did they, nor do we, I trust, "*shrink from the penalty of sins*" inherited (both the sins and the penalty,) from preceding generations. But why suppose that the Church is the channel in which the sins and the penalty flow, instead of going to her ordinances and to her blessing to be cleansed from the sulliage of sin, and to cut off the penalty that is entailed upon us ?

It is almost superfluous to observe, that where the condition or character of the Church is the result of mere external force, the Churchman is far more at liberty to judge, and far less restrained in the expression of his opinion by the reverence due to his spiritual mother. For instance: he may well feel indignant if the State has exercised a tyrannical and treacherous influence over the Church, and forged fetters for her, by which her energies are cramped, under the pretence of protection and support. If, therefore, it is to this that the author alludes, when he says in the above cited passage,—“ Let her [the Church of England] be content to be in bondage ; let her rest in chains ; let her submit to her imperfections, as a punishment ;” I suppose that no true Churchman will object to his expressions. In speaking thus of her *imperfections*, he must be presumed to allude to her politico-ecclesiastical state ; for under no imperfections, moral, or theological, or dependent on herself alone, would it be right, or even excusable, for her to rest, without an earnest endeavour to correct them. Under the tyranny then of political *protection*, she may and must “ sit still,” until again being at unity among themselves, the strength of her sons is irresistible. Then, (and may God in his good pleasure hasten the

time!) she may again obtain her own; and, having been warned by former wrong, hold it.*

And let me add, that I am far from denying that the very expressions which I have least hesitated to condemn, as unadvised at the best, are the expressions of many just and true opinions in the mind of the author; and that in persons of a like habit of thought they may excite very wholesome reflections. Professor Keble, in his letter to Mr. Justice Coleridge, says that this was the case with him; and does not hesitate to declare that the general tone of this Tract, more especially of the introduction, appeared to him very instructive, and exactly what our present position requires; and in the very passage on which I have made these remarks, he saw nothing but a condensed statement of the same facts which had been taught and illustrated in detail in a former Tract for the Times, No. 86. But this tract too, exquisitely beautiful as it is, and most just in the main, had already awakened the apprehension of many a good Churchman. For it is not too much to say, that a perusal of Tract No. 86 left the impression on the mind of the careful reader that the author was instilling a habit of viewing our Church just in the way in which it is so obviously viewed in the introduction to No. 90,—i.e., *from above, and from without*; as if we were as much at liberty to see her imperfections as those who are not her children; and might speak of them as freely as if we owed her no love and no allegiance. Especially the terms in which she seemed to be admitted into comparison with the Church of Rome, a comparison so conducted

* Let me not be understood as disliking the union of Church and State: I only protest against the general view of it, which makes the Church wholly a debtor to the State, and would have her confess as a boon the most unprincipled aggressions of the civil power. As an Englishman, and one who loves his country, I should most sorely deprecate any thing that should tend to the breach of an alliance, by which I believe the state of England to be consecrated, and in which, therefore, I believe its strength to reside. If St. Chrysostom could say with truth *Στόλος ἐστὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ Ἐκκλησία* [Hom. xi. in I Tim.] we may surely believe that the Church of England is the strength of our country.

as to leave the impression wholly in favour of the latter, did seem to afford ground of regret in those who longed still to find pleasure, almost unmixed, in the perusal of the "Tracts for the Times."

Perhaps I have been not strictly correct in referring *all* the earlier Tracts to the moderate Church school, as I am just now reminded by a reference to No. 9, in which the author, speaking of the changes which took place in the Church services before and after the Reformation, says :—

"Services were compressed into one, which had been originally distinct ; the idea of united worship, with a view to which identity of time and language had been maintained in different nations, was forgotten ; the identity of time had been abandoned, and the identity of language, which for a time had seemed to reverse the curse at Babel, could not be preserved. Conscious of the incongruity of primitive forms and modern feelings, our Reformers undertook to construct a service more in accordance with the spirit of their age. They adopted the English language : they curtailed the already compressed ritual of the early Christians, so arranging it that the Psalms should be gone through monthly instead of weekly ; and carrying the spirit of compression still further, they added to the matin service what had hitherto been wholly distinct from it, the Mass service or Communion."

This passage does not indeed avow, but it clearly enough indicates, and it certainly tends to encourage the same disaffection in another of its developments—
The English Reformation disliked by the Oxford school.
 a dislike to the English Reformation, with a habit of looking on all its features with suspicion at the best, and of expressing a judgment upon them with unreserved licence. Taking into account the known reverence (wherein we are not behind them) with which the authors of the "Tracts" regard primitive forms, what can be more obvious than the tone of disapproval of the following words, and the covert rebuke which they convey :—"Conscious of the incongruity of primitive forms and modern feelings, our Reformers undertook to construct a service more in accordance with the spirit of their age?" Surely this is not intended to convey a favourable,

and does not convey a just impression of the spirit with which our Reformers undertook the task imposed upon them in the course of Providence. How is it that we have still the services of the Church of England to witness for a tone of theology, and a feeling in religion far remote from the ultra-Protestantism of their times, if it was with a view "*to construct a service more in accordance with the spirit of their age,*" that our Reformers undertook their task? They succeeded very ill, if this was really their aim; but not so ill, if their object was to revive and perpetuate in the Church of England a primitive and catholic feeling,—wherein, (though not avowedly, of course,) they did in fact embody many features of their own primitive and catholic character.

The arrangement of the offices of the day, so as to include all within two seasons of prayer, is a thing on the expediency of which differences of opinion may be allowed; but it is clearly within the province of a Church's authority: where it has been done, therefore, it should be so mentioned as not at any rate to derogate from the honor of the church and of her servants in that work. And surely this were not difficult. Why may not the plan thus pursued be attributed to their discretion, honestly at least if not wisely exercised, rather than to their subserviency to a puritan or irreligious faction. The state of society, not as it is altered by being irreligious, but as it is modified by circumstances morally and religiously indifferent, would make attention to the seven primitive hours, (if they be primitive,) almost impossible, or at least difficult in so great a degree as to become rather a snare than a privilege: a cause of stumbling to the weak, rather than a means of edification to the strong. If so, then are the Reformers more than justified in the part which they have herein taken.

But what shall we think of the way in which the introduction of the English language into the public worship of God is noticed? After having hinted, and not obscurely, a feeling of attachment to the unvarying use of a language vernacular nowhere, for many ages known to very few of the laity, and unknown to very many of the clergy:—After having attributed its use to a desire to

maintain "*the idea of united worship*," (a good object, if it be historically true to refer to it this arrangement*) :—After having singularly enough, found a seeming reversal of the curse at Babel, in a system according to which one man was continually speaking to or with hundreds in a language which they understood not; which will rather suggest the thought of a perpetuation of the curse, and a binding it upon men's souls every where and for ever :—After all this to say, that as a part of their undertaking "*to construct a service more in accordance with the spirit of the age*," our Reformers "*adopted the English language* :"—Is this a way to speak of what we might almost, if we could venture to particularize among so many, call the crowning circumstance of mercy at the English Reformation? And is it possible to retain in the minds of those who are thus addressed by persons to whom they look for instruction, and the direction of their habits of thought and feeling, a proper reverence for the Reformed Church of England; whose Reformation is not so indifferent, so extraneous a part of her spiritual being, as to be separated from the notion which every one of her sons must have of her character and condition? I do not ask, for I would not suggest bounds to the liberty of private opinion and private feeling, whether a man may so *think*, and record such thoughts in his *private* journal: but I do ask whether a man may so write or so publish *for the community*,—and that community bound, to a man, to support or to hold fast the communion of the Reformed Church of England.

The Tract last quoted was written, I believe, by the late Mr. Froude:† a man in whose mind there was "Froude's Remains."

* An object however which was never really attained, for the Greek church never used the Latin tongue.

† I may be allowed to quote the following passage from a little tract of my own, entitled, "*John Wesley vindicated by himself, an Allegory for the Wesleyan Centenary*," published more than two years ago. "Of Froude himself, I would speak as of the dead, and say, 'Peace be with his ashes!' But if the ashes of the dead are stirred by the living, to excite a destructive flame, we

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much to admire, and in whose character there was much to imitate; but whose "Remains" were not, as almost all Churchmen painfully felt, fitted to appear when they did, or indeed at any time, under the sanction of the great name of their Editor.

It is not yet forgotten how much strength the apprehension already excited by some parts of the "Tracts for the Times," acquired at the publication of these volumes. This apprehension was then no longer confined to persons of any peculiar opinion, and especially not to the ultra-Protestants. Indeed Their striking character. "Froude's Remains," partly from the very nature of the work, (presenting an individual portrait, rather than a series of abstract propositions and unapplied principles,) gave, more than any other work had done, form and substance to the spirit which I am deprecating. In Froude was embodied all that we have yet seen of the habit of looking upon the Church of England from without:—of taking or endeavouring to take a station upon Catholic tradition, or primitive antiquity, as if it were one of advantageous observation; and then looking down upon our church, as a particular church, as if from the eminence of all churches, or of the church universal:—of depreciating the progress

may not be silent. And this I heartily hope and confidently believe; that the immense majority of those who are thankful to the writers of the Tracts for the Times, for their application to existing circumstances of sound Church principles, and for their deeply learned and philosophical refutation of certain Popish errors, read the attacks upon Cranmer, and upon the Reformation in this country in general, in Mr. Froude's remains, with indignant sorrow, and are ready to avow that they feel and will act as Reformed Anglican Churchmen.

"But the cause of deepest sorrow is not that Froude should have so written or spoken:—the impatient and intemperate sallies of a young man may be regretted and forgiven:—but that those whose age, learning, and high moral and religious attainments give force to their proceedings, should publish those expressions to the world, and that evidently with the intention of awakening in others a kindred spirit. This may afford occasion of triumph to those who are opposed to the whole character of the Tracts for the Times, and who deprecate their tendency to revive a spirit of Catholicity in the Church; but to us who confess ourselves their admirers in general, and in some things their disciples, it is cause of regret and alarm."

and results of the English Reformation, as if they derived no holiness from the contact of the church, no reverence from their being the outward vesture, the visible manifestations of our spiritual mother:—and of detracting with all boldness from the conduct and principles of our Reformers, even of that “noble army of Martyrs,” who sealed their work with their blood. The example was striking, and the freshness and independence of Froude’s manner made it fascinating to those who think it tame to be common-place, and noble to be unrestrained by ordinary bonds: a common fault with those whose minds are noble but undisciplined. Whether all the harm might not have been avoided, and yet all that is great, pious, and holy in the character of Froude have been presented for our edification, will scarce admit a question with those who read the “Remains,” with any thing like a just appreciation of their contents.

To speak with light reverence of the Doctors, ^{The Reformers} Saints, and Martyrs of the English Reformation, is ^{unduly slight-}ed, not peculiar to Froude; it is the characteristic of the partizans of that school of which he was a marked—(in some things let us hope an exaggerated) example. Dr. Hook observed long ago, “that while manfully vindicating the principles of the English Reformation, in their fear, lest they should appear to respect persons too highly, the writers of the Tracts [for the Times] do not appreciate highly enough the characters of some of our leading Reformers, nor make a due allowance for the difficulties in which they were placed.”* Is this remark uncalled for now, any more than it was when Dr. Hook thus wrote? What, for instance, is the meaning and probable effect of such a passage as the following, in one of the notices of books in the *British Critic*?—“What does the author mean by Henry the Second’s ‘jurisdiction over the clergy,’ ‘independence of Englishmen,’ ‘Morning Star of the Reforma-

* “Call to Union,” &c.—Note K. Appendix. In the former edition I had transcribed a large portion of that note. I shall do better now to refer the reader to Dr. Hook’s “Reasons for Subscribing towards the Support of an English Bishop at Jerusalem.”

tion,' 'spiritual Protestantism,' 'Protestant Church of England,' and '*venerable Cranmer?*'"* Is there, then, no reality in the foundation of our reverence for that wonderful man? And does not such a critique naturally encourage a flippant way of speaking of those ornaments of our Church, the Marian martyrs, ill becoming a member of that Church which, under God, owes more to them than to any other men, after the Holy Apostles, the first preachers of Christ upon these shores, and the companions of Augustine in his mission at the close of the sixth century.†

The British
Critic.

It is generally known, I believe, that the *British Critic* stands now upon grounds which render its decisions far less important than heretofore;‡ so that it is scarcely worth while

* British Critic, No. lvi., p. 526.—I do not observe separately upon the other alleged unrealities in this series of quotations; nor am I defending the logic or the meaning of each phrase, when I say that the tone of the critique is obvious enough, and is really not becoming in a son of the "*Protestant Church of England.*"

† On the subject of the respect due to the most eminent of our reformers, I have already written much at length in the second number of "Cyril Fortescue," a series of papers in the *Englishman's Magazine*.

‡ I shall not be taken as asserting a fact, but only as indicating a general opinion, when I say, that it is hinted, that Mr. Newman, not being able to keep Mr. Mozley in order, as a contributor to the *British Critic*, put the editorship into his hands.

In spite of the express words, "*I shall not be taken as asserting a fact,*" this note has been interpreted as an assertion on my part, that Mr. Newman *really did* put the editorship of the *British Critic* into Mr. Mozley's hands, *because* he could not keep him in order as a contributor. It is absurd enough to say that I *did not mean to assert*, what I *did not in fact assert*. I must add, that I did not mean to insinuate it either: but as I may still be misunderstood, I take this opportunity of stating as a fact, which has been communicated to me from an unquestionable source, that it was his opinion of Mr. Mozley's capacity, that induced Mr. Newman to transfer to him the management of the *British Critic*.

I confess that I expressed myself obscurely, when I said that the hint above referred to *indicated a general opinion*. My meaning was, that the general opinion of the comparative credit due to the *British Critic*, now and heretofore, (and not the general opinion of Mr. Newman's motives in transferring the editor-

to examine its later pages at length. But we must ask, What is to be expected from such articles as that on Bishop Jewel, in the number for July last, and that on The Port Royal, in number LX? As for the latter article, the first page warns us what we may expect, and the man is himself to blame who is led far astray, after having read such a passage as the following :—" Rome, with that strange tact with which, with all her present errors in practice, she seems to have laid her finger on what is erroneous in doctrine."—Surely, in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird ;* and fascinating as the Portraits of La Mère Angélique and La Mère Marie des Anges may be (and certainly we do not sympathize with those who do not find in them much to admire, and much to emulate,) such a passage as that just quoted neutralizes the poison which this article seems intended to introduce. The whole article appears to be intended to instigate men to an unfavourable comparison, not between the fashionable piety of the present day and that of two devoted nuns (which is fair enough,) but between the means of grace in the Roman Church and in our own, which is in the first place unjust, and the result of a partial view of both ; and which is also, (and this is more to the purpose,) far from consistent with the dutiful allegiance of a Christian to the particular church which God has made his mother and his guide.

The last specific charge that I shall adduce against the writers of the Oxford School, is that their language ^{Use of party language by the Oxford School.} has latterly savoured of party: has tended to prove, that with all their protests against it, (which I am sure are sincere,) they are in the position, (driven into it perhaps by circumstances, yet too readily accepting it,) of a party within the Church ; a party whose designation they have themselves chosen or adopted,

ship to other hands,) was thus indicated. All the world must feel that Mr. Newman's high character renders such a way of expressing this judgment (for which, however, I am not answerable) perfectly innocuous.

* Prov. i, 17.

when they call themselves emphatically *Catholics*. They seem to have committed, (though not I trust without opportunity of retrieve,) the very same fault with those who are now their most bitter opponents, and who delight to call themselves *Evangelicals*; the fault being, in either case, not that the one school is not Catholic, and that the other is not evangelical, (which is a different question altogether)—but that to take either name as an assumption of peculiar excellence, is, by imputation, to deny somewhat essential to the Christian, to those whom the Church does not permit us to treat as separated either from her communion, or from her spirit: and if this assumption is not to be allowed on the one hand, it must be equally deprecated on the other.

Now let me test this assertion that the spirit and the language of party have found their way into the Oxford School, by one or two expressions in a letter of Professor Keble's to Mr. Justice Coleridge. First read the passages as they stand, and then substitute the word *Evangelical* for the word *Catholic*, and the language of a party will stand confessed to on either hand.

“Considerate Catholics [*Evangelicals*] know well, that there is, practically, no separating the high and comprehensive views which that name imports from any of the moral branches of education they must either teach Catholicism, [*Evangelical truth*,] or not teach at all.”*

“We should indeed be liable to the taunts and reproaches which now affect us so little, were we to go on subscribing by virtue of our Catholic [*Evangelical*] interpretation. I would not willingly excite unnecessary scruples, nor cast a stumbling-block in the way of any man's conscience; but is it not so that had Convocation ratified any thing equivalent to the recent vote of the Heads of Houses, not only tutors, holding the *Catholic* [*Evangelical*] view of the Articles, must have resigned their offices to avoid breach of trust, but no academic whatever, of the like principles, could either subscribe afresh, or continue his subscription.”†

The very title of this pamphlet suggests an uncomfortable thought of the position which it advocates; “The case of *Catholic subscription* to the Thirty-nine Articles considered: with especial

* The case of Catholic subscription, &c., p. 17.

† *Ib.* page 24.

reference to the duties and difficulties of *English Catholics* at the present crisis." This surely seems like separating between *English Churchmen* and *English Catholics*, and making their subscription different. In other words it seems like vindicating to a particular set of men the title and the character which is theirs only in common with others : for really it were too much to exclude from the terms *Catholic subscription* and *English Catholics*, the *persons*, and the *subscription* of those who labor to be catholic not by cavilling at the articles of a Catholic (to wit) the English Church ; but by holding them in pious obedience, and by subscribing them *ex animo*.

Nor is it doubtful that a more ill-natured interpretation may be put on the word *Catholic* as here used : for the history of the letter suggests that by *Catholics* may perchance be meant those who have so far outstepped their Anglicanism, as to have looked with a longing eye on the doctrines and practices of Rome. The tract out of which this letter arose, does certainly contemplate such persons ; and that very justly, for there can be no reason why those who have too nearly approached to Rome should be repelled, while those who too nearly symbolize with Geneva are admitted : but as a term of exclusive praise, or even of honourable distinction, we can no more allow the adjective *Catholic* to the one than to the other.

I have no difficulty in believing that Professor Keble is wholly free from any such meaning in the use of the word ; and that it has arisen only from the haste with which a polemical pamphlet is likely to be set forth : but I am sure, and he must himself know it, that a general tendency to assume the term *Catholic* as a term of eminence, and as a party distinction, is becoming visible among the less wise and cautious disciples of his school ; and this indication of real party feeling in the many, should make the wise few most careful not to concur in the use of words which may at least be interpreted into a party meaning.

Let me then repeat, for the warning of younger brethren, that as a matter of fact, it is assuming too much to call themselves

Catholics κατ'ἐξοχήν. One who is sacramentally in union with the Church of England, which is a Catholic Church, though he differ from this or that school in matters of private opinion, far more than many who would not be included in their application of the term *Catholic*, is yet a *Catholic*, and his subscription is *Catholic subscription*, in every just and true sense. It tends directly to party to deny this, even by implication. It tends remotely to schism, and that more strongly than the parallel conduct of those who assume the title *Evangelical*: for as the contrary of *Catholic* is *schismatical*, we impute a schismatical leaning to others, if we arrogate the term *Catholic* to ourselves alone; and this imputation is more likely to irritate men to actual separation, than any vague imputation of false doctrine.*

* It has been said, that in calling the Moderate Churchmen *Anglo-Catholics*, I am committing the same fault which I impute to the Oxford School, in calling themselves *Catholics*. I thought I had guarded against this objection, by declaring most explicitly that I meant not to question the right of any to be called Anglicans, or Catholics, in the fullest and most beneficial import of those terms, who are really in communion with the Catholic Church of England. [See page 5.]

But I may farther observe, that if there is any thing of eminency implied in the term *Anglo-Catholic*, it is referred to the Church of England, as a branch of the Church Catholic; to ourselves nothing more than an affectionate allegiance is attributed.

On the other hand, the Oxford school, in calling themselves *Catholics*, seem to indicate a wish to escape from the designation of a particular Church, and to assume for themselves a higher title. They would themselves most justly reckon it a great sin, to account themselves better in any respect than *The Church*: but do they not lay themselves open to a suspicion that they do, in some respects at least, account themselves better than *Their Church*. This is not the same thing, but has it nothing of the same spirit?

Again: the word *Catholic* has reference to a sacramental virtue. We may speak of the *Sacrament of Catholicity*, as St. Cyprian does of the *Sacrament of unity*; and to say of any set of persons within the Church, that they are emphatically *Catholic*, has a depth of meaning, which ought not to be avowed hastily: it requires almost as much caution to apply the term *Catholic* thus, as to express a theological dogma, or to frame an anathema.

And now let me hastily recapitulate some part of ^{Recapitulation.} the charge which I have ventured to advance against the later productions of the Oxford School.

So far as separate opinions are concerned, it were somewhat harsh to impute to them more than the license which may be fairly conceded to private judgment: although there are some few questions, as for instance, that of reserve* in communicating religious knowledge, and of the use of tradition,† on which they have, to say the least, forsaken *the spirit* of their own Church. Nor do I think it possible to deny,—however unwilling I should be to press a particular charge,—that the combined effect of numerous and separately considered scarcely appreciable lines and touches of such a character, all drawn one way, and all tinged with one color, has given to the body of truth around which they are grouped, a somewhat one-sided aspect, and a complexion not its own.

Now we, in calling ourselves *Anglo-Catholics*, only claim the sacramental dignity as children of the Catholic Church of England. The term *Anglo-Catholic*, if it be a term of praise, does at least refer the praise to the Church of England not to ourselves, and silently protest against the voluntary principle, developing itself either in a (*soi disant*) Catholicity, or in a Protestantism, which forgets in some points, the allegiance due to that particular Church, which God has made our Holy Mother.

* On the subject of reserve, the opinions of the Oxford School seem to me to be as much at variance with the primitive church, as with our own; for it was from the unbaptized, the uninitiated, as they were otherwise called, that the *disciplina arcani* concealed certain mysteries; whereas any practical application of the rule of reserve in our own church, would keep the baptized, not the unbaptized, in ignorance.

† Or perhaps it were more just to say,—the question as to what is, and what is not to be accounted tradition. If I do not entirely mistake the Oxford school, they would admit for tradition the *unrecorded* floating impressions of what may perhaps have been taught with authority, though never clearly defined and ascertained; whereas the Church of England both in her own authoritative expressions, and as she is represented by her best divines, certainly regards *recorded* tradition only, as of any authority. On the value of tradition, where the prior question (What is Tradition?) is determined, it does not seem that there is any difference between the received doctrine of the church, and the use of the Oxford writers.

E

To *startle* men's minds I suppose the writers in question would admit to be their aim; and I for one should grant the goodness of the intention: perhaps they would not hesitate to say that they would even *unsettle men's minds*; and this too might be permitted, if the centre be not removed or shaken, which must determine their form and character when they fall again into repose, and assume the firmness and equality of a regular system. But the burden of the charge against them is, that they have unsettled men's minds on most important points, and at the same time taken away this centre: and that they have not only removed the right centre, but substituted for it a wrong one. From their own church, which is to them the ordinance of God, for the very purpose among others of holding men together in a sound and catholic unity, they have stolen, or acted as if they would steal, the affections and the reverence of her sons: they have spoken slightly of almost all that we have been taught to respect and love, as the visible form which the Church wears to her children; and the Church is too high an abstraction to appear to most men except by such manifestations of herself. Her formularies, her articles, her reformation, her martyrs, her aspect, and gait, and complexion, all these things they have thought a subject of criticism; and they have even instituted, or set on less qualified persons to institute, a comparison between her and the parallel features of the Church of Rome; setting men by a most strange accident, or a most sinister cunning, in the way of an unfavourable comparison for our own Church. And then having almost suggested the question,—*Shall we be leaving a lower for a higher form of Christianity, if we forsake England and flee into the arms of Rome?* they have given us the rule of Catholic consent on which to frame an answer: a rule which few can apply with tolerable skill and equity; and which is to the individual without authority: for no individual can have *authority* in matters of controversy.*

* The danger of forming a habit of appealing to primitive forms, or Catholic consent, without at least as confirmed a habit of deference to the Church to

And besides all this, and as if to shew that they gladly accepted the natural consequences, whether or no they were anticipated from the first, they have sanctioned the use of a name of distinction, whereby the *Catholic* in England is separated from the *Churchman* in England, and placed on higher ground. An assumption which we cannot admit, without danger to the Church, as well as an undue exaltation of certain brethren above the rest.

And why this loosening of the hearts and minds of men from their ancient and true moorings? It is not that Englishmen had got to love and respect their own Church too much: and that they wanted to be detached from her arms that they might take a more manly range into an open province of theology. It was just the reverse. I grant that among the least truly obedient of her sons, there was a sickening use of *words* of respect, which meant nothing;—that men who kicked at authority, and altered the ser-

which we belong, I have before referred to in the preface to the “Life and times of St. Cyprian.”

“While we are studying the history of a particular Church and age, for the sake of the ‘Catholic’ spirit which it embodies, we may be in danger of forgetting that that spirit may animate very different forms; and so we may hastily condemn our own Church, because we, in our folly and pride, deem the various arrangements which she has made, in wisdom and in love, inconsistent with a primitive character, because they are not identical with a particular primitive form. This is a grievous error into which those are likely to fall, who are seeking to Catholicize the present generation of the sons of the Church, by a reference to the ecclesiastical records of any former age. But let us all remember, (and the author of this volume feels that the warning is necessary for himself, which he presses on others,) that if, in pretence of a catholic spirit, we touch but the hem of the garment of our own holy mother, except with the deepest reverence and piety, we most unequivocally give the lie to our pretensions. There is no one thing which our church can require, so long as she hath the grace of God with her, so wrong, so opposed to all Catholic form and spirit, as the unfilial judgment, or the imperfect obedience, of any of her sons.”

I may refer also to the last chapter of my pamphlet on “The Anglo-Catholic use of Two Lights on the Altar,” for statements of the danger of going to some other standard than the laws of our own Church, for what may seem Catholic customs.

vices of the Church to their own fancy, talked ever and anon of *our beautiful Liturgy*, of *our venerable Church*, and the like: but the evil was not in *their* too great affection or deference surely. *The Establishment* too was lauded in like fashion on mere political conservative grounds, and *our excellent Establishment* and *our learned prelacy* were watchwords of a faction; and were thus employed by men who would have hated the Church, if they could have understood her spiritual position, and her claims to exercise authority and to enforce discipline. Surely the remedy for all this was to bring forth the Church to the admiration of men; to make her personally visible, if I may so speak, in the beauties of her external developments of principle;—to claim for her love because she deserves it, and authority because it is given her of the Lord.

An appeal to the
Masters of
the Oxford
School.

Feeling, as I do, my own great inferiority, I scarcely know in what terms to approach the masters of this school; and yet, as an humble brother in the Church, I may *intreat* them for myself and others, to consider whither their course is tending, and how it may be kept from too rapid a deflexion, and too dangerous a fall. They themselves seem to feel that they have evoked a spirit whose extravagance they have not sufficiently restrained. Perhaps they cannot dismiss this spirit, but it is not too late to modify his influence. Would they but exert all their influence, and could they but exert it successfully, in checking the spirit of disaffection which, doubtless, without their will, and contrary to their expectations has followed upon the movement of which they have been the centre,—How noble would be their position!—How great their reward! With a little modification, we might almost address them in the words of Dionysius of Alexandria to Novatian, and say:—"If by the unlooked for application, or by the unforeseen recoil of your favourite principles, you have been forced to appear as leaders of a party within, but not wholly with, the church, you will show your sense of this by professing most energetically the claim that

she hath on the allegiance and duty of her sons ; and, if by your personal influence, or by the force of reason, you can persuade your companions to return to a better mind, the merit of your success *now*, will overbalance the misfortune of your too great influence *before*. The evil which is past will be imputed to you no longer, and for the healing of the Church you will receive deserved praise. But if others have been urged even beyond your influence, yet at least return yourselves to a safer and a better path.”*

In addressing the Masters of the Oxford school
in these or any other terms but those of grateful ^{And an apology.}
acknowledgments for the positive benefit which they have conferred on the church, and of the deepest admiration of their talent, learning, high principles, and most exemplary ~~training~~, *learning*,
I am doing violence to my own feelings. Yet when a principle is at stake, I should scarcely be justified in speaking otherwise than seriously, and as strongly as I know how. I am contending for what is sacred in my own eyes at least; and those who know how easily men are led into too great warmth of controversy on such an occasion, will perhaps forgive me. Moreover it seems to me that there is really a present and an urgent call for some appeal to them; and those who give me credit for looking with painful interest on the present crisis, will judge me leniently if I am wrong. Weakly I may have spoken, and foolishly, but not dishonestly. I may have spoken inopportunistly, yet not hastily: for twice before have I commenced the ungrateful task, and have been checked in one instance by the fear of swelling the voice of idle clamour, at a time when the semblance of authority was arrayed against them. If, as some

* Εἰ ἄκων ἤχθης, δείξεις, ἰὰν ἀναχωρήσης ἐκὼν. Καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐι πίσεις ἡ εἰάσαιο τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἐλθεῖν, μῆζον ἔσται σοι τῶν σφάλματος τὸ κατὸρθωμα, καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐ λογισθήσεται, τὸ δὲ ἐπαινεθήσεται. Εἰ δὲ ἀπειθούντων ἀδυνατοίης, σῶζων σῶζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν.—*Eusebius* vi, 45.

persons have insinuated, opposition to their views was not to be expected at my hands, the few who know me, know that I only say now publicly what I have long felt, and often expressed; and as for my present position with respect to their distinctive opinions, I need only repeat, what I said more than two years ago, when invidiously ranked with their adherents,—“That they would be ill satisfied with such a representative of their opinions: and that, much as I admire their piety, learning, and principles, I must protest against being classed with their implicit followers. I am ready to defend them against malice and ignorance; but I am also ready to defend myself, if need were, against some of their positions.”

Exposition
with their
followers.

In speaking to the younger members of the Ultra-Church party, and to those with whom I may more fairly class myself as an equal, I have not the same difficulty. If then there are any who will not, in sincerity and love, return to the filial obedience from which they have been moved, but will on the contrary, carry their disaffection and their exercise of private judgment so far as to dally with the claims of some sect, or of some other church, to be accounted a better communion,—to them I may say: Whither would you go? To Geneva and her purer communion in Geneva. Presbyterian “platform;” on which the blight of Socinianism has fallen, as if to warn men that a divine polity cannot be slighted without endangering the most holy doctrines? Or to Puritanism, whose progeny, monstrous in evil, once let loose upon this devoted country, astounded the whole earth with their inhuman and godless deeds? But I will not suppose it possible that on this side the lure can be effectual; because, although the lessening the hold of the Church of England on men’s affections and judgment does really tend as much to defection on the one side as on the other; yet at present their greatest enemies accuse neither the masters nor the scholars of the Oxford school of driving their disciples to Calvinism and Puritanism. What the result of a reaction may be on themselves, or what the consequence on others

of the repulsive character of the extreme which they are advocating, we may guess, but will not anticipate. At present and immediately, there seems no danger on that side.

But will he who is unmoved by the cold aspect of Geneva, yield himself a willing victim to the more fascinating smiles of Rome? And what then will he seek?—
A Catholic communion?

In England certainly he will find no such communion out of the Church of England:—but in Popery, as in every other form of dissent, a mere sect;—a sect beginning in usurpation, carried on with base intrigue, and now existing a monstrous jumble of worldly and religious craft;—of loud assumption of unbending principles, and of actual concession to the Protestantism by which it is surrounded. Let the divisions in the Church be exaggerated, and the diversity of the teaching of her ministers be magnified to the utmost, she will still be one and unvarying, in comparison of the Proteus form and chameleon complexion of Popery.

But suppose for argument sake, that the Papists of England were really a church, still what would be gained by fellowship with Rome? Is there no penalty attached to sin and guilt in a church as well as in an individual? And will the communicant be free from the curse which falls upon the society of which he is a member? Is it an indifferent thing to a Christian whether his church is or is not stained with blood shed unjustly beyond parallel in all history;—is or is not, in fact (however it be in theory,) an idolatrous church:—has or has not in many countries and at many times, openly pandered to the vices and errors of men:—has been a mark for the finger of scorn to point at for her morals, or a light to the world shining to the glory of God? Is it nothing to one who fancies that the voluntary system is so far true that he is privileged to choose his communion, that the one to which perchance his affections lean, has deluged with blood the countries of the High Alps, of Spain, of America, of the Low Countries, of France, of England; whether

Or in Rome.

Popery in England a sect.

The Church of Rome most impure.

innocent blood or not is no question, but shed unjustly:—that the communion which he has dared to love, or at least to dally with, has beheld in such a day as that of St. Bartholomew, an occasion of solemn religious rejoicing:—Is it nothing to him that wherever general education has not kept pace in Popish communities with the religious instincts of the people, idolatry is grossly practised, and shamelessly allowed; nay, that it is encouraged by all kinds of indirect arts of the ecclesiastical authorities, and by the obvious teaching of the clergy? Is it nothing that the sale of Indulgences and pardons has been avowedly once (if it be not avowedly now) carried on by that Church, to the contempt of the lowest common-sense notion of what must be the will of a Holy God? And is it nothing that the morality of Rome has become proverbially low;—and that the proverb is being justified, day by day, no farther from our own homes than in the Popish population of Ireland; where religion is still made, (as it used to be in days we would forget for the honour, not of Rome only, not of Christendom only, but of humanity itself,) to justify treachery, cruelty, and murder?

Ignorance is not generally the fault of those to whom alone these questions must be addressed—and sure I am, that if they will really answer them, out of their own knowledge of history, none will be struck out as irrelevant to the subject, or of dubious answer; but many more on the contrary will suggest themselves of equally fearful import. And yet Romanism is the communion that we have had set before us of late in a thousand forms of tender blame, almost of disguised affection and approval—as if the Church of Rome were to bear away the palm of truth and holiness and purity from the Church of England. Sinful we are and have been; but if it be open to us to speak at all of ourselves, sinful we have not been in comparison with her.

Rome not richer
in means of
grace.

But perhaps Rome, scandalous as she has been in her collective character, may pretend to the formation of more exalted saints, among her individual sons. Will a man seek in the Romish communion, then, the means of arriving at a higher degree of grace, and of forming in himself a more perfect

Christian character? That Rome affords this, is, I suppose, the inference to be deduced from such productions as the article on the Port-Royal, in the last British Critic. What then—just because they present not themselves in the same form, are there no opportunities in the Church of England of cultivating self-discipline, mortification, charity, zeal, and piety with la Mère Angélique? The daily need of the poor in every neighbourhood, will afford work enough for many such men and women; and work which will not be lessened in labor, nor in self-denial, nor in charity, nor in piety, because it is not rendered more easy, nor made a matter of more defined and stated duty by the habits and rules of conventual life. We may fast and pray as much and as freely, we may sell or give all that we have to feed the poor, without transcending (God forbid the thought) the moral requirements of our own Church. We shall find, indeed, a little less encouragement to convert what is simply disgusting without being pious, into meritorious acts; nor shall we be so readily tempted to cry out a **MIRACLE!** when God's providence has graciously provided for our need.* We shall not go nasty, because some real saints have done so, and because dirt is characteristic of the merely legendary saints of Rome; but to as high a frame of devotion, the rules of life and the means of grace which are open to us, will lead us,

* I hope I shall not be understood as wishing to derogate in the slightest degree from La Mère Angélique's reputation for sanctity. I am only adducing some blemishes in her deportment for the same purpose that the author of this article seems to have presented her virtues; that is to indicate the moral character of the system which produced them: and I cannot help seeing that I am making a much fairer use of the faults, than he has made of the virtues, of the holy Mother: for the faults certainly do arise out of the particular system; the virtues as certainly belong to the Church of God, without reference either to the communion of Rome, or the conventual system. In one instance above alluded to La Mère Angélique was superior to her artificial system; for she had the humility to consider an attempt, (quite within the limits of such things as they are ascertained by the received legends of the saints,) to attribute a miracle to her, rather a temptation and trial of her humility, than a justifiable homage to her sanctity.

F

under God's blessing. When he has really exceeded the requirements of the Church of England, and really exhausted all her means of grace, then let a man hasten to a purer Church, if such there be.

But there is less discouragement among the Romanists; and less opposition from authority, to any attempt at holiness. Say you so: then compare the account of Nicholas Ferrar and Little Gidding, with that of *La Mère Angélique* and the Port Royal, and say whether authority may not co-operate with a life of piety in the Anglican, and oppose it in the Romanist? And if this become a matter of circumstances, of time and place, and individual caprice, where is the gain? Does any man believe that if, with ordinary prudence, a clergyman of the Church of England should seek the sanction of his Bishop to repeat the beautiful scene at Little Gidding, he would be repelled? I trow not. Does any one doubt that if a few Christian ladies would form themselves into a society, with due discretion, and under a proper superintendence, of which religion should be the bond, and charity the occupation, either the laws or the spirit or the authorities of the Church of England would hinder them? I trow not. Individual opinion might vary as to the propriety of the details of their plan, but piety, devotion, discipline, and charity they would be at liberty to cultivate; nay, they would be encouraged and helped to cultivate to the utmost.

Romanists less
uniform than
we.

But there is a greater unity and certainty in the faith among Romanists than with us. No, sir: you are too acute to be led away by the sophism which compares Popery with a jumble of all sects calling themselves Protestant, to prove that the Church of England, which is no sect at all, is less united in doctrine and in spirit than Rome. What have we to do, any more than Rome, with the differences and quarrels between Independents and Quakers and Socinians and Methodists? And setting aside all these and the like, not adherents but opponents, we are not less but more united among ourselves, and more uniform than the Church of Rome. Differences of opinion among

individuals there will and must be (and what can give more liberty to them than the Jesuitical theory of probability), and allowing for this, which must be allowed for every society, ecclesiastical or otherwise, think you, sir, that the priest of a polite and highly cultivated congregation in Edinburgh, where Popery is a suspected sect,—that the priest of a poor ignorant congregation in Ireland, where Popery is a persecuting faction,—that the priest of a church in Spain, where the Pope was all in all, and the priest of a church in France, where he was next to nothing,*—think you that these all teach a more uniform system than has been taught by the most varying forms which the Anglican clergy ever assumed, as High Church or Low Church, as dominant or persecuted, as wanderers in foreign lands, or at home in their own? And what can exceed the uniformity—the almost identity—of the faith and service of the Church, wherever she holds communion with England? In Scotland, in America, besides the countries where the Church is actually a part of ours, as in the colonies, the uniformity in our articles, orders, and ritual, even in minute points, is really wonderful; and challenges comparison, or rather disdains comparison, with any thing that Rome may present.

But, after all, the most truly practical question that occurs is this: What course are moderate Churchmen The duty of Anglican churchmen. to pursue in the present crisis? and how are they to exert their influence to the utmost, to counteract the tendency to defection, or to disaffection at the least, which seems to have arisen? To such persons one straight-forward and open path presents itself, and one which can scarcely be called invidious against any:—to hold the Church of England enshrined in the best affections of their own hearts, and to repel as treason against their mother any slight upon her authority or dignity; and if they are in places of rank and influence, to hold her up to the love and reverence of those about them, and to claim their allegiance for her, not as a

* If the case is now reversed in these two countries, the argument is only strengthened by the change.

matter of choice and fancy, but as a duty. If the Church of England is truly *Catholic*, (and it does not become those who minister or communicate at her altar, to admit a doubt of it in their own minds, or to allow a question of it to colour their teaching or conversation with others,) if the Church of England is Catholic, then it is truly the most Catholic course to take, to urge her claims on the duty and affection of her sons. It is through the truth and holiness and divine life of the Church in which God has placed him, that each individual Christian is Catholic, and one with the Church and with Christ. And if, to maintain this union more effectually, the heart is to be moved on the side of duty, where can there be greater incentives to love, than those which are presented by the history and present position and character and maternal offices of the Church of England? How much hath Providence done for her, to mark her out as beloved of God, and to make her lovely among men! How soon was the soil of this land wet with the blood of martyrs! How soon did our Church send her Bishops to testify her faith to the whole world! How gracious was the Providence which sent hither Augustine and his companions to revive the spirit of the Church, and to erect the candlestick again in its place, when many churches (those in Asia Minor and in Africa, for instance,) were suffered to perish, and their light was clean put out. Then, again, at a time when all the churches of the Roman obedience were degraded most painfully,* she was divinely permitted to exert her native energies, and to exercise her inviolable right to reform herself; and through the good providence of God, (and we accept the gift as divine the more certainly from the unworthy channel in which it flowed,) she alone, in all Protestant Europe, maintained the form and body of a visible Church; one in discipline and

* There is no question, or should be none, between Rome and us as to the necessity of a Reformation, for it was confessed at Trent. The real question is whether a particular church has a right to reform itself, without permission or assistance of Rome; and nothing but extravagant party can raise a question on this point.

polity, as well as in doctrine, with the Churches of Apostolic times. Where the influence of the prince effected anything in this change, we can only confess that he was an instrument, albeit most unworthy, in the hands of God ; but for the maintaining among us of what was purely spiritual, and for the assurance of an orthodox faith, there were many men worthy (so far as it is given to men to be worthy,) to set their hand to this work. And they maintained their integrity through various and bitter struggles. Popery and Puritanism, in their turn, were iron furnaces of affliction, in which the faith and patience of the saints were tried, and from which they came forth as gold purified seven times in the fire. Surely we may say ourselves, and teach our children to say, "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, and in the times of old."* And we may take from the past an omen for the future, and with all confidence set our love on a Church which the Lord himself hath so delighted to honor.

Nor are there wanting to every individual particular claims of the Church of England on his duty and affections. She is his Mother in Christ, and at her hands he has received Holy Baptism, the grace of Confirmation, and of the Blessed Eucharist, with all other means of grace, each according to his years and circumstances, from his youth up. She has prayed beside his sick bed, or she has blessed his marriage vows, or she has committed his parents and his kindred to her consecrated ground, or she has received his children into her arms at the baptismal font ; and his own bones he has in intention committed to her charge, and consigned to her hallowed dust, to sleep with the confessors and martyrs, with the bishops, doctors, and all the saints whose bodies she has committed to the earth with a blessing, and in hope of a joyful resurrection. A mother's part she has performed and still affords to all, who will still seek it at her hands ; and among all the churches of God of whom we know aught at the present day, we may declare with an honest pride that there is no such mother, or at least that there is none better.

* Psalm xliv, 1.

This affection for the Church of England, with a sense of the *duty* that we owe to her, as well as of the *love* which we feel for her, is the foundation which we must endeavour to lay in others, and guard in ourselves, for a firm adherence to her, and, in her, to the Church of Christ in its wider signification. And if this be well fixed, we need fear but little the effects of any slight differences of private opinion.

But there are several occasions which will serve to test the strength of these feelings of duty and attachment; upon one or two of which I must be allowed to touch.

Cruelty of irritating brethren to disaffection.

First, then, one who is attached as he ought to be to his own Church, will certainly be marked by a respectful treatment of the error, so far as it is an error, of ultra-Churchmen: for nothing can be more contrary to the spirit of our Church, and more opposed to her interest, than to irritate into disaffection, and possibly even to secession, men whose very enemies confess them to be earnest in their opinions, and conscientious and devoted in their character. Surely they little think what is the fearful nature of the sin of schism, which is the rending of the body of Christ, who wantonly irritate men who do at least desire the peace and unity of the Church, to a schismatical spirit, or to the very act of schism. What can be more cruel, more fearfully uncharitable, more recklessly indifferent to the best interests of the souls of their fellow creatures, than the dreadful hint thrown out but too plainly by the enemies of the Oxford school, (and though they suspect it not, by the enemies of the Church,) that they should at once go over to Rome:—that they who hold schism to be wicked and dangerous in the extreme, should commit an act of schism, and join a schismatical faction;—and that faction in the communion of Rome, which their advisers seem to think accursed? They would be shocked at the thought of impelling their greatest foe to rush headlong down a precipice, or to hold his hands on a chafing dish till it was consumed; but they can coolly recommend not the least worthy of their brethren in the Church to rush into what

is agreed on all hands to be dangerous to the soul. They would shrink from advising some little dereliction of moral principle, some little lie, or petty theft, but to the sin of schism they can calmly stimulate their fellow creatures and fellow Christians.

Greatly must the heinousness of this offence have been changed since St. Chrysostom gave so excellent rules, not for the thrusting off, but for the bringing back of those who had somewhat erred from the right path. Which then is really right, (for both cannot be right)—The Low-Churchman now, calling upon his brethren to go over to what he holds a most dangerous communion, or St. Chrysostom who says, “Great is the charge which falls upon a Christian Pastor, when he has to knit together again the broken limbs of the Church. A tender of sheep hath the whole flock following him, whithersoever he leads: and if one of them be turned aside from the direct path, and deserting the good pasture, graze in barren or precipitous places, it is but a louder call and the stray sheep returns again to the flock: but if a man have wandered but a little from the direct path of a true faith, the Pastor hath need of no little skill, and of unwearied patience and forbearance; for he cannot bring him back by force; but by much persuasion must he recall him to the truth from which he fell away. Much then doth he need a generous ardent mind, that he may neither weary in his labour, nor despair of the salvation of those who are in error; and that thus encouraged, he may without intermission labour at their conversion, if it may be that God will give them a knowledge of the truth, and deliver them from the snares of the Devil.”* The care, and skill, and anxiety, the mixture of tenderness and authority, of charity and zeal necessary for this work, did so great a man as Chrysostom account a part of the scarcely human qualifications for the priestly office.

* *De Sacerdotio*, II, iv. The reader may compare with this passage St. Chrysostom's declaration for himself, in the eleventh of his Homilies in the Epistle to the Ephesians, of the extreme miseries and insults which he would rather endure personally, than that any considerations should drive but a single individual from the Church.

Surely, surely, much as the authority of Chrysostom's judgment may be slighted, such expressions as these do read a lesson to men who can speak, and that calmly, and with deliberation, as if they would rejoice in the secession of their brethren from the body of the Church. Is it possible that they really feel triumph rather than sorrow, when they fancy that their auguries are justified by an occasional defection? Is it possible that they are really, as they seem to be, looking out with intense desire for such cases? and that they follow with wistful eyes the movements of their brethren, like vultures hovering over an army's march that they may batten on the carcasses of the fallen? Can this be so with any who are men, and who call themselves Christians?

If it be so, little has been, hitherto, the gratification of their unnatural appetite. One only instance that I know of has occurred of a defection to Popery of one whom their opponents could affect to class with the Oxford school; and (though it be invidious to say it, yet for the truth's sake it must be said,) that instance is not such as to afford a test of the value of principles: for it is not strange that a man of *tried instability* (if a solecism in language may be employed to express a singular exhibition of character) should wander again, as he has used to wander hitherto. Meanwhile many who verged towards Popery from Low Churchism have been preserved by the providential intervention of a better system; while, on the other hand, so many have fallen into the arms of Rome from the ranks of the Evangelical school, that they ought at least to lament with us, instead of mocking at any.

c/ We ought to seek union not division, and not by concession, but in charity and principle.

That we are not so to act as those whom I have ventured thus to reprove, must, I think be clear to any one who will seriously and prayerfully ponder the matter. I think it equally clear, that we are to hold out the right hand of fellowship most heartily to men whom we cannot but admire on the whole, though we may differ from them in some matters of private opinion; and that though we *may* and *should* protest against what we think of dangerous consequence in

their public teaching, yet we should do this in gentleness and love. That we should treat them not as insidious foes, who desire to subvert our faith; but as friends in earnest and zealous for our weal, though perhaps sometimes mistaking the way in which they should advance it. That we should be at least as ready and as courageous to go with them as far as we can see and feel that they are right, as we are to point out to them in kindness where we believe them to be wrong. This were surely a better way to win them back, (if it be at all just to speak of them as *needing to be brought back*,) or, if that be the more appropriate phrase, to restrain their too unbridled course, before it has issued in definable error, or in actual separation.

Very far from us be the cowardly conduct of those who would desert the good that they actually hold, because it may have been suspected of some alliance with an evil to be dreaded in future. No; let us rather hold our position the more energetically for all causeless opposition, and still let us labour more and more to commend the doctrines and discipline of the Church, and all her visible manifestations to her children and to the world, by a constant and careful attention to her doctrines, discipline, and formularies. A little perhaps we may be vexed, as we shall certainly be much pained, at the bad construction which is put upon our endeavours; at the wonderful neglect of order in those who make conscience of attacking us; at the quickness of those to whom we should look for support in carrying out the spirit as well as the actual requirements of the Church, to discern and to reprove the slightest unauthorized or hasty step on our side, while the gross neglect of those who are opposed to us, is overlooked: let us not, however, be moved to leave the straightforward path of duty, but let us still, through evil report and good report, stand at our post as devoted sons and obedient servants of the Church of England,—ready, in much weakness, yet in much sincerity also, to maintain her doctrines, and to vindicate and uphold her principles and her laws.

The probable
result of such
a course.

Immense has been the effect already, of a steady, progressive attempt to do this; for many of the laws, and forms, and doctrines of the Church which used to be despised by almost all, are now held in veneration and obeyed by all but the very lowest; and bad as the case is still, yet as compared with the carelessness, and irreverence, and heterodoxy of Low Churchmen of the last generation, their successors are, in comparison, sound in theology, and consistent in ecclesiastical propriety. And strong as the effect of adherence to the doctrines and ritual of the Church, with the exhibition of so much of her spirit as we could attain to, has been on the Evangelical School, it will not be less powerful on the Ultra Church School: for this, if anything, will shew them that the Church of England is really that which they are seeking for, a Church of high principles in ecclesiastical order and polity; of sound Catholic theology, of primitive antiquity, and deeply spiritual; of an inexhaustible wealth in the means of grace; and, in all the methods by which a Church can be embodied to her children, pure, holy, and beautiful. No careless service of her priests and ministers, no lax and lukewarm assertion of her doctrines, no meagre exposition of her spirit, will shew her forth in her beauty; though indeed the elements of beauty will be there, to be brought out and embodied by some of her happier and more devoted sons. But, if we still advance more and more nearly to her required standard, her intrinsic excellence, her visible beauty will become visible in proportion, and it shall be said of her with reference both to her inherent perfection, and to her external comeliness, "The King's daughter is all glorious within, her clothing is of wrought gold:"* or if this were to appropriate to a particular church what is in strictness applicable only to the Church universal, yet at any rate it may be said to her, "Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."†

* Psalm xlv, 15.

† Proverbs xxxi, 29.

